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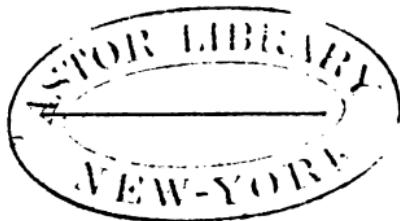
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**PRESENTED IN A**

**SERIES OF LETTERS ON SLAVERY.**

**BY REV. RUFUS WM. BAILEY,**

**OF SOUTH CAROLINA.**



**NEW-YORK:**

**PUBLISHED BY JOHN S. TAYLOR,**

**BRICK CHURCH CHAPEL.**

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**1837. M**

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**NEW-YORK :  
W. S. DODD, PRINTER,  
123 Fulton Street.**

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE following Letters, originally published in the Christian Mirror, have been copied, either wholly or in part, into most of the religious papers of the country. This wide circulation has given to them already an extensive perusal. The manner, in which they have been received, and the influence they have exerted, have led, by the advice of judicious friends, to their careful revision, and re-publication. They are now offered to the public in a small volume with the earnest hope that they may subserve the cause of truth, and do good to our colored population, by contributing to check the progress of principles, now industriously disseminated, most injurious, as the writer believes, to their cause. The book is commended to the candor of the public, and the blessing of God.



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## LETTER I.

*South Carolina, Aug. 12, 1835.*

REV. SILAS McKEEN:

*Dear Brother*,—The subject to which you particularly call my attention is no longer a “delicate subject.” I am willing to say nothing to *you* in relation to it, which I would not desire to say to every minister, every man and woman in New England. The time has come when, as you say, “Something, by way of light and persuasion on the subject of SLAVERY, must be done,”—and I may add, *not for the South alone*.

I regret that I cannot answer your very candid letter, before the “Convention on the subject of slavery,” which, you say, is to be held in Portland on the 12th inst. That is now impossible. But I will pray the Author of all light to direct you, and I trust the candor expressed in your letter, and which I know pervades your character, will characterize the meeting, and that it may result in great good to the poor slaves, for whose benefit it is called.

It appears to me that two inquiries, when you are met, will exhaust the subject. *First*, What *can* we do? And *then*, What *ought* we to do? It is plain that you *ought* not to do what you *cannot* do,—probably not all even that you *can* do. You *cannot* interfere with the subject by legislation, at least, so far as the respective states are concerned. That is settled by the Constitution. You *can*, however, seek an amendment of the Constitution. This is provided for in the instrument itself. And only in that method prescribed for amending the Constitution, *can* you act on the subject through the government. You *cannot*

address the slaves themselves on the subject. To this course, there are not only insurmountable moral, but physical objections; you would not excite rebellion if you could, and you would not be permitted to approach them with that design if disposed. You *cannot* benefit the slaves by violence, either in the use of physical force, or opprobrious epithets, or by crimination of the motives or conduct of their masters. You *cannot* give them their freedom, nor teach them, nor find access to them, *except by the voluntary consent of their masters*. But you *can* impart "light," if you have it, and use "persuasion," and open yourselves to the same influence—and this is what you *ought to do*.

The questions propounded in your letter, I will answer briefly and in all candor. Some more full statements than are now at hand, I will communicate in other letters.

"1. *What is the actual influence of the American Colonization Society at the South, and do its warmest friends now think it will ever remove slavery from the land?*" I answer: it is not easy for me to say what the actual influence of the American Colonization Society is at the South, as to the extent of that influence. The reflecting part of the community, I believe, are friendly to it, as calculated to relieve this country from a portion of its most miserable population, the free blacks; but principally as a means of introducing the Gospel into Africa, and preventing or diminishing the slave trade. Its ability to remove slavery from the land must depend on other friends of the slaves besides their owners. These masters cannot, if they would, *hire* themselves to give up their property. Is it not enough that they manumit their slaves? Has the black man no other friends to help him? There are now, and always have been, masters who are ready to give up their slaves, if others will transport them. They can do no more. You are aware that the laws of this and many other states prohibit, for the best of reasons, that slaves should be set free without transportation—that is, a removal from the state.

"2. *What do pious people at the South intend to do in order ever to bring slavery to an end?*" They intend to seek the moral and intellectual elevation of their slaves,

and prepare them for a better world, and for whatever the providence of God may appoint for them here. The way is now dark, and they appear willing to receive "light." This, however, must come from some other source than from those who begin by calling them villains, and by asserting what the slaveholders themselves know to be false in point of fact. The people of the South are as ready as the people of the North to make sacrifices. Show them any course that commends itself to their judgment, and they are as little blinded by a selfish or avaricious spirit as any people on earth.

"3. *Is there any greater difficulty in the way of its abolition than there was in the British dominions?*" I answer: that I do not know of any. But who will purchase these slaves? The British government will not as they did those of the West India Islands. Will the friends of the negroes at the North do it? I should be glad to see the experiment *tried* in this country, and then we should know where the *difficulty* lies. The experiment there, however, is but half perfected. The negroes are free. It remains to be proved whether their freedom is to be a blessing to them.

"4. *What is done for the instruction and salvation of the colored people?*" I answer: much is done. Some pious masters devote themselves entirely to the religious instruction of their slaves. They are generally instructed by the ministers. In many places the time of the clergy is equally divided between the whites and blacks. In many of our churches, the majority of communicants are blacks. In some sections, where they are numerous, missionaries are employed for their exclusive benefit. But I will not enlarge, as I shall take an opportunity to furnish you with statistics, and more minute information on this subject.

"5. *Is the way open for the people of the North, through the medium of the American Home Missionary Society, or in any other way, to do any thing for the religious instruction and moral improvement of the slaves by preaching the Gospel to them?*" I answer: the black population are entirely accessible to religious teachers, and ministers are called for and generally welcomed by the owners, who

are willing to contribute liberally to their support. Under the present state of excitement ministers coming directly from the North are, of course, looked upon with jealousy. No northern minister, however, who has an established character, is obstructed in his endeavors to instruct the negroes.

"6. *What influence do you think is exerted at the South, by the Anti-Slavery Societies of the North?*" "The Anti-Slavery Societies of the North," as I understand, comprise those who, in opposition to ALL OTHERS, require *emancipation* of the slaves *immediately*, and at all hazards. They oppose *gradual* emancipation, and Colonization and all plans of amelioration with the same uncompromising application of their abstractions, and with the same bitter invective, and the same reckless disregard to consequences, as they oppose slavery itself. I know of no good influence, which these societies have exerted or can exert here. They have undoubtedly been productive of great evil. No one here believes their schemes practicable. If literally practicable, every man knows that their execution would be attended by the most disastrous consequences both to master and slave. There was never, perhaps, greater unanimity on any subject than the whole South presents on this. I do not know of a single southern man in this State, wherever he may have been born, or whatever his profession, who is not decidedly opposed to the principles of the Anti-Slavery Societies of the North. And the negro has as firm friends here as any where. There are many men at the South who have made themselves poor for the benefit of the slaves—who have "cast in all that they had." Who at the North has done this? Here are men who have relinquished fortunes of twenty, thirty, fifty, and one hundred thousand dollars for the sake of giving liberty to the enslaved. Who at the North has done so much? Many more are ready to do it so soon as they can be convinced it will bring a real blessing on their slaves. What abolitionist has done so much? Not the North alone is liberal in this matter. The South is liberal. Let the course of duty be known, and dollars and cents will have little influence to obstruct or aid the execution of this duty. But let me say, the principles of

the abolitionists, *can never prevail here*. They will be opposed at the threshold. *That interposition will never be permitted*—that emancipation cannot now be effected. Blood may flow—but the *fetters of the slave will be riveted the stronger*. The country may be deluged in blood, but it will only serve to *perpetuate slavery*. This is the “influence exerted at the South by the Anti-Slavery societies of the North.” So far as the negro is concerned, these societies could do nothing worse for him, were they his worst enemies. This is the sentiment of the best friends of the slaves, and especially of those who are most anxious for a policy, which shall result in final emancipation. Northern men at the South too are *unanimous* on this subject. The *political influence* of this great moral question, I will remark upon in a future letter. And lest the motives under which I write, should be mistaken, let me say—that, although now in the midst of a slave population, I can be influenced by no regard to the opinions of those about me. I do not intend to continue my residence in a slave country. But my views of the right of slavery form a different subject from the question, What is *now* our *duty* in regard to the *slaves of our country!* That distinction I will endeavor hereafter to consider.

“7. *Do Christian people, if there are any, who hold slaves, think it is right? And that it would be right, if in coming years, the scale should be turned, and the colored people should enslave the descendants of their present masters, and treat them just as they are now treated?*” You know, my dear brother, that *Christians* at the South hold slaves, do you not? You did not, therefore, intend to imply that the *piety* of a *slaveholder must be doubtful*. There are those, who cast such imputations—who indeed can hardly cast any thing else. But I will not presume *you* designed it, because the language you use does not necessarily require that construction. Nothing is gained by such imputations. Much, now not to be recovered, has already been lost. Most Christians, in answering this question, would require a distinction to be made between the right of slavery in the abstract, and the “right” as applied to the circumstances in which they are placed, and would answer the question differently in the two cases. But as

a more full answer to this question will come into connection with a branch of the subject I have reserved for another letter, I will not introduce it in this, already too extended. The second branch of the question will then also, naturally, come under consideration. In the meantime permit me, dear brother, in the love of my country as an American citizen, and the love of the church as imposing the strongest obligation on us all, to subscribe myself in every latitude your attached brother.

## LETTER II.

*South Carolina, Aug. 15, 1832.*

REV. SILAS MCKEEN:

*Dear Brother,*—In reply to your question, “What is done for the instruction and salvation of the colored people?”—I have already said something; and now propose to add such facts as lie directly within my reach.

Within a few years, increased efforts have been made by Christian masters, and by ministers, to impart religious instruction to the slave population, and bring them under a moral influence. Great efforts have been made by the legislature, by enacting severe penalties to prevent irregular trading with them by unprincipled white persons, in which they were always under temptations to steal articles for traffic, and purchase in return intoxicating liquors. The vice of intemperance has been, by this and other means, greatly diminished among them. The Sabbath is very generally regarded as a day of rest, if not of devotion. I have rarely, for several years, seen it made by them a day of amusement, as I am told it formerly was. Great and increasing care is used by masters to remove the most common sources of temptation, to provide for them good and separate sleeping apartments, to promote and encourage the marriage relation, and give a due respect to families by special indulgences and privileges. Provision is generally made in the construction of churches to accommodate them in separate seats, and in some places churches are fitted up especially for their separate use. Sabbath school and family instruction is extended to them extensively by religious families; and, as a missionary field, the black population of our plantations is at-

tracting the attention, and enlisting the voluntary services of all who can feel the missionary spirit, or be warmed into action by the love of souls.

So much is true in regard to the individual and separate efforts of Christians to promote the spiritual interests of their slaves. In most of the ecclesiastical bodies of the several religious denominations, the same spirit is manifested.

The Synod of South Carolina and Georgia have made the religious condition of our slave population a subject of special consideration for several years. In regard to the spirit which prevails in this Synod, I will state a fact, as the best illustration I can give. An intelligent gentleman from the North, who attended on the Sessions of our last meetings and heard the discussions on this subject, declared to me that he was entirely satisfied, and *that* meeting had done much to mitigate and destroy the strong prejudices against southern slavery, with which he had just come into the country. This remark referred, of course, to slavery *as it now exists* at the South. Nor does our action end in eloquent speeches. Resolutions have annually been passed expressive of the obligations of ministers, churches, and masters, to extend the means of grace among the slaves, both designed and calculated to excite the members of our communion to diligence in their duty. Nor is this all. These principles have been followed out, and great and increasing efforts have been made in behalf of the African race among us. Our clergy generally pay a particular attention to their black congregations. Many of them give the entire afternoon of the Sabbath to them. Sunday schools among them are almost universally organized. Several of our most talented and most promising young ministers are devoting their entire services to the blacks, and, to do this, have declined calls to some of the most distinguished stations in our Church.

Our Synod, at its last meeting, appointed a committee to "take into consideration the propriety and expediency of forming a Society for the religious instruction of the colored population." This was done at that time in consequence of a proposal from the Synods of Virginia

and North Carolina to form a Southern Society for this purpose, called "The Southern Evangelical Society." This committee have prosecuted the duties of their appointment with great zeal and faithfulness, and will be prepared to report at our next meeting at Columbia in November.\* Measures will then no doubt be taken, which may be, on due deliberation, thought best calculated, subject to the laws of the land, to promote the religious character and salvation of the slaves.

A reference to the religious statistics of the principal denominations will furnish further evidence of the degree of attention paid to the instruction of the slave population. The *Methodists* are perhaps better organized and more efficient in this service than either of the other denominations. They have *eight missionaies* entirely devoted to the black population, and their preachers are very successfully as well as actively devoted to this part of their charge throughout their respective circuits. Their Church embraces, in this State 30,000 members, of whom about 20,000 are blacks.

The *Episcopal Church* has 2500 members, of whom 600 are blacks.

The *Baptist Church* has 36,000, of whom, according to the best estimate that can be made, about 20,000 are blacks.

The *Presbyterian Church* has about 8000 members, of whom, in the entire absence of separate reports, I reckon 3000 blacks.

The *Reformed Presbyterians* have 50 communicants—the *Associate Reformed* 2155—the *Associate* 140, making in the aggregate 2345; of these I suppose at least 345 may be blacks.

The *Lutheran Church* number nearly 2000 communicants, including several hundred blacks.

A few other fragments of other denominations may add 1000 to the number of Protestant professing Christians in this state, making in the aggregate nearly 88,000 communicants in the whole population. Multiply this by 6,

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\* This committee made their report, which, on account of the public excitement then existing, was laid on the table, and the whole subject has slept to the present time. This is one effect of the abolition movements.

and you will have 528,000, very nearly the present population of the state.

If you now subtract 51,000 from 315,000 the last census of the slave population, for the immense emigrations to the West during the last six years, you will have a *slave population* of 264,000, numerically *equal\** to the whites, and with 45,000 black communicants you will have a *larger proportion* of *black* than of *white* communicants. 8 or 10,000 free blacks, I have not brought into this estimate, as there is among them but a single professor of religion within my personal knowledge; and I am assured also, there are very few in the knowledge of others.

More particulars might be added of a similar character; but here is an outline, a correct one I believe, of the means now used in this state for the "instruction and salvation of the colored population." I have confined my remarks to South Carolina, that I might more closely testify to what I know. I have no doubt that a still more favorable statement might be made for Virginia, and perhaps for North Carolina and Georgia. *I might also dwell on a very different picture* by speaking of the religious destitutions, and vice and misery of the slave population, the picture on which we are accustomed to dwell at our public meetings, when attempting to look at our duty, and excite to redoubled exertions. But I suppose you have had a faithful representation of every thing that can be said on that side. I know it will be cheering to *your* heart to dwell on a verdant spot of moral vegetation in a field so little cultivated and known.

And now, dear sir, where is the man, who can come into this enclosure, and pronounce the curse of God upon it? Who can rudely tear down the wall, by which this field is protected, and desolate these little gardens, now green with moral vegetation, fragrant with the flowers of

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\* This is the best estimate I can make after consulting with some whose judgment may be considered entitled to the most respect. The census of 1830 states the whole population in round numbers at 581,000. Whites 258,000—slaves 315,000—free colored 8000. But the strong tide of emigration which has been setting westward, for the last five or six years, has greatly diminished the population of this state—particularly of the slaves.

paradise, and bringing forth fruit unto eternal life? Who would turn this cultivated soil into the wilderness? The abolitionist, *if he succeeds*, does this. I regard not now his motives or his principles—*he does this*. I can admit no reply to this position, that he will proceed to instruct them as free men instead of slaves. I say still, *he does this*. He turns an enclosed field into the wilderness. He cannot instruct them with success. He may send the first generation to perdition, and go into the laborious process, employed among other heathen, of educating their children to feel a religious influence. But he loses his hold on one generation. I appeal to facts. Our free black population, *your own* free black population, are proof. Can we not do better for them? Is it not our duty to do something better for them?

I love to dwell on the religious privileges and prospects of our black population, in contrast with their brethren, who remain free in their native deserts. I love to contemplate the wisdom and benevolence of that Providence, which has permitted them to be enslaved *that they may become free indeed*. I dwell with increasing interest on the prospect, which connects Africa with the fulfilment of her Divine promise, through the converted slaves of this country, transplanted to their original soil wholly a good seed. Africa shall be compensated for her wrongs, and repaid an hundred fold. Mothers have bewailed their sons torn by violence from their embrace, and subjected to slavery—but when these mothers have gone to the account of those, who have “sinned without law,” and the inhuman slave dealer to the account of those, who have “sinned in the law,” these sons shall return again to their native shores, free and “white in the robes of the Lamb,” to proclaim *liberty to Africa* groaning under a sorcer bondage, hailing Christian America under God, “*the DELIVERER OF OUR RACE*.” While I greatly fear that Great Britain, in a noble endeavor to act nobly, has precipitated her colonial slaves to a deeper ruin, I would ask for myself and for my country, such a distinction in the annals of Africa as I have just recorded.

## LETTER III.

*South Carolina, Aug. 18, 1835.*

REV. SILAS McKEEN:

*Dear Brother,—* You ask : “ *Do Christian people, if there are any, who hold slaves, think it is right? And that it would be right, if, in coming years, the scale should be turned and the colored people should enslave the descendants of their present masters and treat them just as they are now treated?* ”

This question is intended as a pinch. The enslavement of their descendants is not a contingency contemplated by the people of the South. The answer, however, to the last part of this question, if answered at all, would be consistent with their present practice, I say in candor, that on the supposition that *my* descendants should be placed in *precisely* the condition of the slaves in this country my prayer would be that they might be spared the false friendship of a generation of abolitionists. My principles as expressed, I should desire to have applied to myself, to my descendants, in a change of circumstances. You do not understand me as justifying the manner in which the slaves are “ now treated ” by bad masters and bad men, nor do I suppose that you expected to have the question answered by such men. You seek an answer from reflecting men ; from Christian men ; and in this view I have given you a reply. Believe me, Christian masters seek to act conscientiously in this matter ; they apply the *law of love* in retaining their slaves in bondage, and *good men* here are the very last men, who will practically be influenced by the abolition principles. This may appear a marvellous doctrine to some, but it will be strictly verified in the extremity of the experiment.

All the reasoning of abolitionists, whose motives I would by no means impugn, and whose benevolence is worthy of sounder argument—all their reasoning which has fallen under my particular observation, seems to be briefly this, “Slavery is a sin. The only proper treatment of sin is to leave off sinning, entirely, of every kind and degree, at once and forever. Therefore, immediate emancipation is the duty of all who hold slaves.” This argument is as fallacious as it is specious. Let it be examined by your child. He has caught an animal of the forest, and for his mere selfish gratification has confined it in a cage, deprived of the free air and liberty of its native mountains and plains. You teach him from the morality of the Emancipator or New-York Evangelist. It is a sin, my child to deprive this simple animal of its native freedom for your own personal gratification. Therefore, you must go straight and open the door of its cage and let him out to be devoured by the dogs. Would not the boy confound you by the morality of his own little Sunday School books? Would he not say:—“Your premises are right. It is wrong to deprive even the meanest animal of liberty and happiness, for which, in his measure, the God of nature has fitted him—but it would be more wicked still to let him loose among the dogs, where a greater evil must befall him, and double injustice be done. I can do much better for him. I will return him to his native woods and restore him safely to his range of freedom.” Try the argument by your own views of justice and personal convenience. Your horse has been stolen. The horse has been offered for sale, and I have bought him and paid my money. I have put him to my own service—*your* horse to *my* service. Convinced at length the horse is yours, I open my gate and turn him out into the high way to stray still farther from his rightful owner, or to be taken up again and sold. I cannot keep a stolen horse a minute. Would you think I did “right?” No.

Now you ask me—“do good people who hold slaves think it is *right*? ” I answer: I believe slavery, in the abstract, or the subjection of freemen to a state of bondage is regarded by Christian people to be **wrong**. But they do **not** believe that immediate emancipation of their

slaves would be "right." And, therefore, under the circumstances, they *do think it is "right"* for them to hold slaves. They believe it would be doing the slave *great injustice* to abandon him so. They think they can do much better for him, that they owe him something, and I believe that pious people at the South are disposed to restore to the slave "four fold" for all the injustice that has been done to him.

Let me introduce you to the plantation of my friend, the Rev. Mr. B. He is a Presbyterian clergyman, and has several hundred slaves, and is entirely devoted to their religious instruction. They form his congregation. He regulates them by wholesome laws and considers them all as members of his family. They are required to work regularly, but not hard. He requires of them, perhaps, one third the labor which a New England farmer commonly demands of his son, and this is a very fair graduation of the amount of the slave labor generally at the South. They assemble at an early hour in the evening in the chapel, where they receive daily religious instruction. If difficulties have occurred on the plantation during the day, or wrongs been committed, they are all settled here. A public reprimand in the chapel is commonly regarded as the most dreaded punishment which can be inflicted. On the Sabbath, they form his congregation of hearers, and attend on Sunday school instructions. They are provided with every comfort of life, and made as happy in this world's goods as they are capable of being. Their houses are good, their food suitable and abundant, and the plantation, with all its goods, is theirs so far as it can contribute to their wants. When the master sells his crop, he purchases a new suit of clothes for each of his slaves of the same material with his own, and they all appear in the chapel clad in similar fabric. They are contented and happy, in the way of improvement, and many of them, in the way, it is believed, of eternal life. They all enjoy the means of grace as eminently as the families of Portland or Belfast. Compare this family of slaves with the free negroes of your own state. Would not that freedom, under all circumstances, be a curse to them? Suppose he should off hands where they are, and say he will

be rid of the "sin of slavery." Would not that be a curse to them? What shall he do with them? Now this good and devoted brother is a man who thinks it "right" for him to hold his slaves. He thinks he can do better for them than to give them their freedom, which they probably would not accept unless compelled to do it. He thinks he would be doing them great injustice to place them in the situation of the free negroes of the North or the South. He could not answer a good conscience by doing it. He could not answer to God for those souls over which, in a wise but mysterious providence, he has been made the overseer. He hopes to meet many of this large family in heaven, saved by his instrumentality from those vices, and fatal consequences, to which their emancipation would inevitably expose them. This is by no means a singular case, nor are all the interesting facts in this case related.

The unanimous opinion of the *Presbyterian clergy* of South Carolina and Georgia, respecting the Anti-Slavery Societies of the North is expressed in the following resolution adopted at the last meeting of Synod in December. "*Resolved unanimously*, That in the opinion of this Synod, Abolition Societies, and the principles on which they are formed in the United States, are inconsistent with the best interest of the slaves, the rights of the holders, and the great principles of our political institutions." This resolution was adopted while the Synod were engaged in maturing an extensive plan, of which I will speak again, for the instruction and relief of the slave population. The "principles of these societies are deemed inconsistent with the best interests of the slave," as they retard efforts in other ways for his instruction, amelioration or eventual freedom; with "the rights of the holders," because their slaves are their property. This is recognized by our Constitution, and was recognized as a "right" of the master in the legislation of the British government on the subject of emancipation in *their colonies*. "Inconsistent with the great principles of our political institutions,"—because the great charter of our rights protects the citizens, under it, in their property, and recognizes this species of property in particular. However just,

therefore, their *object* may be, the *course they propose* is one of injustice.

Suppose, on the faith of the government to redeem the bills of the United States' Bank, the citizens of the southern states should permit the other states to press the whole circulation of them into these states. Would it be *just*, then, for the other states to come forward and pass a law pronouncing those notes unredeemable and worthless? But this would be *equally just* with the course demanded by the principles of the Abolition Societies. Would you say the faith of the government is pledged in this case? So it is in the other. You must overleap a constitutional barrier before you can press an argument.

The abolitionist says, our constitution was "conceived in sin." We had no right to make a contract to protect the slaveholder, *therefore*, the contract itself is *null and void*, and the sooner it is torn up and trampled on, the better for truth and justice. Just so the ruling party says, "the United States' Bank is unconstitutional," and the act of incorporation void, and its existence a sin. "The only way to treat sin is to leave it off." Thus you see the *Constitution, OUR GLORIOUS CONSTITUTION*, which was built up as a wall to protect essential rights against arbitrary majorities, popular gusts, and raging fanaticism, is levelled at a blow. The reasoning cannot be admitted. The fanaticism must be checked.

## LETTER IV.

*South Carolina, Aug. 20. 1836.*

REV. SILAS McKEEN:

*Dear Brother*,—Slavery, in the attitude it has been made to assume, is in my opinion, decidedly more important, (as it will be made to subserve the purpose of party, and effect the stability of our government, and the permanent interests of this nation,) than any other subject now agitated. It is important, because it enlists the feelings of the whole country, strikes deeply in those sectional prejudices, which have most seriously threatened the perpetuity of our Federal Union, can most easily be made to serve some dreaded political purposes, and it is now agitated by the northern abolitionists in such a manner as to furnish, to all who may desire a political effect, an engine of prodigious power most easily put in operation. So long as it was considered a great moral question, its discussion was comparatively restricted and attended with calmness, but when it is made a national question, and organized opposition to slavery *in the South* is formed in the states that *have nothing to do with it*, the political elements are disturbed and new passions are enlisted.

The Colonization Society has undoubtedly exerted a powerful influence in favor of the slave. It has awakened the minds of southern men to the subject of slavery, to its moral and political bearings on the interests of the South, its necessary results in an undisturbed progress for centuries, the necessity of limiting the increasing ratio of slave population, and of seeking moral safeguards by the moral elevation of the negro race as the physical dangers increase. The rights of the slave as such, and the

right of slavery itself in the abstract, have undoubtedly been examined, better understood, and more extensively respected than formerly. The change, which has taken place within eight years, since my residence at the South, is surprising. The reformation has been going on with increasing rapidity and power, and few moral fields have presented to the eye of the philanthropist and Christian a view more cheering and hopeful than that which embraced the slavery of the South. There was an agency seen to operate with force and effect, and the moral vegetation was obvious and vigorous. Such was the decided, increasing, steady and healthful influence of the inquiry awakened, and action produced at the South by the American Colonization Society. If jealousies were awakened in some minds as to the ultimate tendency or design of the society to effect the final emancipation of the slaves, it was enough that its operation did not affect the rights of the master; and with many the idea of eventual emancipation was willingly entertained, provided it could be done without invading the rights of personal property, or by violent measures.

Nothing could be more pleasant than to contemplate the benevolent operations of a wise providence in bringing from their native deserts, barbarous habits, and lawless modes of life, and subjecting to the influence of a civilized and Christian community, two millions of these ignorant benighted heathens. I have remarked with gratitude and lively hope the minds of the masters gradually opening to the light, and their hearts warmed up to a glowing conviction of their moral obligations to the slave. The evils of slavery, in all respects, have been gradually and rapidly diminishing, tyranny and oppression of the powerful over the weak exchanged for a paternal care, the slaves admitted to a place in the regard and attentions of the master as members of his family, and the whole system of moral means brought to bear directly on this portion of the population. Here was opened a missionary field, wide, accessible, and most promising. The slave regards the attention of a minister of religion as a favor. It is a privilege to him to be called from the field for religious conversation and instruction, to sit with the chil-

dren at family worship, and to assemble with the great congregation on the Sabbath ; and there is at the present time no part of his labors more grateful and animating to a clergyman of the South than that, which lies connected with his black congregation.

It is under such circumstances and prospects that the Anti-Slavery Abolition Societies have urged their officious and importunate and unwelcome instructions. The most unhappy and disastrous is the political aspect they have given to the question. If what has been sometimes charged on some of the leading politicians of the South as a crime be true, that they have sought in their course of complaint against the general government simply a dissolution of the Union, and the erection of a southern confederacy, these societies have done more to aid them in their object, and to sanctify their crime, than the tyranny of any government could have effected in half a century. The Anti-Slavery Society annihilates, so far as this subject is concerned, the union party, and gives to McDuffie the entire disposal of every man in South Carolina capable of bearing arms. I know not how numerous or powerful that society may now be, or prove to be, hereafter—but one thing is beyond all doubt, that it will never be permitted, by the South, to carry forward its objects. It will be met in any attempt to carry out its principles, on the boundary line of the slaveholding states, and the border country of new national demarcations will be there traced in blood. This is the influence at the South of the Anti-Slavery Abolition Societies of the North. Whether we regard them in their influence on the slave or the master, on the political or moral interests of the community, they are productive of evil, of unmixed evil.

We are not so constituted, and it is well we are not, as to affect the great revolutions, by a *word*, which it is made our duty and privilege to accomplish by moral agencies. It is often the case too, that more patient and persevering effort is necessary to enable us to make the truth clear to the dull heads of others, than the investigation and attainment of that truth cost ourselves. Yet it is well we cannot command fire from heaven to destroy those, whom we would fain make as wise as ourselves ; for if we could

we might often play the tyrant too effectually in punishing tyranny, and establish the very principle we attempt to overthrow. Besides, in the persevering routine of patient effort for gradual improvement, most men find their own views sometimes so far changed or modified as leads them to avoid a ruin, which their favorite *immediateism* would have made cotemporary with the accomplishment of their wishes. And is it by no means possible to convince our brethren of the Abolition Societies that gradual emancipation is more safe both to the master and the slave, and is the best to be attempted, BECAUSE, if either, *that alone is practicable?* If not, they must try their experiment, and meet the shock. I trust they will be few in number, that THE NATION may not be involved in the consequences.

Much exasperation of feeling with the good people of the North exists on the subject of slavery in consequence of distorted and exaggerated apprehensions of the actual evils of it in our own country. It is often said, however, that if this be so, it does not affect the main question; the right of slavery. True, but it does and must materially affect the influence which those, who are free from the evil, may attempt to exert on those, who patronize or suffer under it. It does deeply affect the friendly relations of the North and the South, integral parts of our common country, between whom the utmost harmony and fraternal sympathy should be cherished. And ultimately, if not directly, it must deeply affect the whole question in all our practical action on it. If you wish to gain a sinner and convert him from the error of his ways, you do not begin by knocking him down, and calling him a knave or a fool. This course would effectually bar any moral influence you might attempt afterwards to exert upon him. You go to him "more in sorrow than in anger," and you "meekly instruct those that oppose themselves." For "the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient."

While the argument is thus lost on those whose reformation is sought, it is rendered unprofitable to all whose prejudices can be influenced on the subject. For effect, slavery is represented in connection with the horrors of

the prisonship, with manstealing, with the disruption of domestic ties, exile and expatriation, with the cries of mothers torn from their children, and children from their parents, husbands from their wives and wives from their husbands. It is eternally associated with the clanking of chains, the whip, the dungeon, with tyranny, oppression, cruelty, and the absence of every human sympathy and fellow feeling. Fired with such imaginations, the northern abolitionist readily swears eternal hatred to the South, and here is the influence which that father is exerting on the political destinies of his country, soon to be consummated. He puts the slaveholder in an attitude of defence stung by a sense of injury, and enlists all who can be influenced by his pictures in a crusade against him. So far as South Carolina and the neighboring southern states are concerned, his representations are false. The slave trade is here prohibited under severe penalties. It is against law to bring a slave into the state from any quarter for sale. And the ill taught youth, who comes to witness monsters, is surprised to see in slavery, as it exists in this state, one form of service, which places these slaves above the laboring classes of Europe, and in some respects above the ordinary poor of our northern states, I would not here be misunderstood. My simple object is to do justice to the subject, to all parties; to disabuse those who have suffered wrongfully, and to abuse no one. I speak not of actual slavery as it existed in the West Indies up to the hour of its extinction; nor of slavery as it may have existed in this country before I had the means of personal knowledge; nor of slavery as it may, for ought I know, exist even now in some parts of Louisiana and Mississippi; nor even as it may be abused in individual cases any where:—but I speak of slavery as it exists in Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia, and especially under my own observation. Its actual evils do not compare with the common representations given of them, and are constantly diminishing. I hope to see them utterly exterminated. Therefore, I thus speak. But I wish to see justice done to the slaves even in their emancipation, if that should ever be effected.

Having suffered in bondage, I would not precipitate him into a greater evil by a premature emancipation.

The relations which exist and terms of intercourse cherished between the master and slave at the South, are very much misapprehended by many at the North. The personal attachments are generally very strong. Since the importation of slaves has been prohibited by law, the slaves of a plantation grow up with their young master, and associate with him in childhood and youth on the most familiar terms. True the distinctions of superiority and inferiority are always kept up, but the mutual attachment, which this sort of intercourse produces, can readily be imagined. It is all real, and hence the line of distinction between the blacks and whites is, in most respects, much broader at the North than at the South. The familiarity of their intercourse is much less there than here. This familiarity and personal attachment produces a mutual devotedness, which very often constitutes the slave a protection, instead of a source of personal danger, as is often supposed, to his master. A northern lady can hardly credit, what is nevertheless true, that a southern lady often reposes entire confidence in the protection of her slaves, and is without the least apprehension although left on a remote plantation by her husband and every other white person, while she has her own slaves about her. And the confidence is not misplaced. They form as safe a guard as the same number of persons selected from any class. This attachment of slaves to their masters is shown in the fact that no pre-concerted plan for insurrection has ever succeeded before it has been divulged by some faithful slave to his master.

Intelligent slaves understand this subject perfectly well. They see the difference between themselves and the free blacks, and are conscious of their own superiority. They understand and acknowledge that in divine providence the African race in this country have been compensated an hundred fold for the injury done to them by the inhuman slave dealer. Daily praise is rendered to God for the providence which made them slaves in a Christian land. This does by no means cancel the sins of those

who have wronged them, but it does bring a proof that their present condition is one of comfort and grateful acknowledgement.

The security to the slave, that he will be treated with kindness and protection, thus founded in mutual attachment between him and his master, is the best he can have. Where this mutual attachment does not exist, as is not possible to obtain in all instances where changes are so frequent, the slave is still protected in his rights by public opinion, which most effectually punishes in execration by common consent, the man who abuses his slave. There is a high standard of public feeling on this subject, better than all legal enactments in the case, to protect the weak against the strong. The man, who will brutally abuse his slave, is held in a similar abhorrence with him, who will abuse his child or his wife. Southern men are always considered the best masters. If a slave is to be sold, he will select a southern man, and this selection is to a great extent awarded to him. The last man he will choose for a master is a yankee. Northern men uniformly are the severest masters. The reason probably is, that they are used to being subject to rules, and are strict to apply them. They are accustomed to work hard and require it of others.

Many affecting anecdotes of fidelity in slaves could be recited, which would compare with those that have immortalized, on the historic page, names more honorably allied. And on the other hand, many examples of cruelty in masters could be furnished, which would lead us to desire the abolition of a state of society, which could admit of such barbarities. But neither of these recitals would materially affect the state of the question. They may be gathered from every state of society. They are incident to man wherever he may be found, and if they are made to prove any thing, they will prove in the adverse examples that man ought not to exist at all. When we compare the state of the slaves in this country with what they might be, and are capable of being, we are affected to deep sympathy, and a strong desire to contribute to their intellectual and moral elevation. When we compare their condition with that of the free blacks of our own country,

or with what it would have been had they kept their freedom in their own native deserts and heathenism, we have occasion as they do, to admire the goodness and grace of God, which brings good out of evil, and often "makes the wrath of man to praise Him."

It is easy to conjure up unreal pictures of distress on the one hand, or shut our eyes to visible cruelties on the other, and thus forever lose the truth on this subject. What we want is facts, and no course of action, which is not regulated by them, will lead us to favorable results. We can never expect to approach or influence the humane master by accusing him of crimes of which he knows he is innocent, or by magnifying the evils of that peculiar relation, in which he finds himself placed by divine providence. Very little difference exists in their views of slavery, between pious people at the North and the South. The evil is felt here and acknowledged. No proof on that point is required. All, therefore, which is said opprobriously, with exaggeration, or falsely, is more than lost. It rivets the fetters of the slave, and prolongs his servitude. With a distinct knowledge of this fact, what apology can be made for the conductors of those inflammatory prints, who are constantly employed in drawing caricatures of the evils and guilt of slavery, or in applying real pictures to the present state of slavery at the South, which belong only to other times or countries. They aim a blow at the master, but it reaches the slave, and subverts entirely their professed design. Are they the disguised enemies of the slaves, or do they not believe in these results of their efforts ?

## LETTER V.

*South Carolina, Aug. 21, 1835.*

REV. SILAS McKEEN:

*Dear Brother,—*—The present excitement on the subject of slavery is unhappy and injurious to truth, in all respects. It is injurious in its influence on the minds of those *philanthropists*, who are actuated by a desire either real or false—*real* I admit, *false* many *here* believe—to benefit a degraded portion of their fellow men. Fervid piety, and fervid devotion to the cause of humanity, are always, when judiciously directed, productive of unmixed good. But fanaticism, though the effervescence of the best ingredients, must soon expend its factitious motive powers, and become neutral and stale; or boil to bursting, spreading devastation and death. Ill directed zeal is often no less fatal in its results;—efficient indeed, but subversive in its objects, and, therefore, often productive of a ruinous reaction on the minds, that are moved by it. By the people of the South, generally, the present excitement, as it is developed in the action of our abolition brethren, is attributed to fanaticism, unmixed with any intelligent principle of patriotism, or religion. I ascribe it to an ill directed zeal, in men of the purest patriotism and piety. I know *Arthur Tappan*, and I do not hesitate to assert my entire confidence in him here, where it is not popular to call him a good man. I have entire confidence in his disinterested motives and ingenuousness, and I look confidently to them in a firm belief that they will compel him to retrace his steps, when he sees what he has done. Nothing but a mad perseverance in his mistaken course can, or ought to, forfeit to him that confidence. I may

say the same of Rev. Dr. Cox, Dr. Beman, and Beriah Green, and many others of a devoted and pious zeal.

There are I have no doubt, bellows blowers in this work of designed benevolence, who are reckless of consequences ; who are willing to scatter firebrands, arrows and death ; who are entirely willing to forge instruments of slaughter for the hand of the slave, while they knock off the fetters from his limbs ; who are entirely willing to influence his passions, and engage him in the work, more revolting to every natural feeling of sympathy than the worst evils of slavery, which exists only in the false pictures of their fevered imaginations. No charity can correct this conclusion. *There are such men.* But they are not, as is too generally supposed here, they are not the men whom I have named. They are men, however, who, but for them, and others like them would exert no dangerous influence and would not be tolerated. There are men, who have nothing in their souls, to which you can appeal ; for they know not what belongs to courtesy or propriety. They have nothing in the structure of their minds, to which you can direct an argument ; for their philanthropy is supported only by feeling, their arguments are drawn from their passions. I dislike to call names in such a connection, although I might do it with truth and justice. From such names, the honored men, whom I have mentioned, owe it to themselves and their families, as well as to their country and the church to withdraw their countenance and support. They are called upon to do it, when their country and religion are bleeding, and implore them to pause and reflect. They owe it to themselves ; for a persistence in their course, though commenced in piety and wisdom, is obstinacy, is madness, is sin, when that course of action is proven to be subversive of those interests it was designed to assert.

The effect of this excitement, on the minds of the very authors and supporters of it, is most injurious : for they are strongly tempted to drive at their object, literally kept in view, while all the principles in the case have changed relation by circumstances. They commenced with the desire to save the slave from the lash, but they are making that slave doubly a slave, and subjecting the

master to the greatest evils. When this is proved, will they not desist? Will they not relent? If they persevere, does not their philanthropy lose its character, and change to misanthropy? And will not this excitement then produce the most unhappy effects on the minds of its abettors themselves? But there are some, whom I have named, and many whom I might name, who *will not persist* in their course. And they will not BECAUSE the *cause of benevolence*, which "girded them to the war," REQUIRES them to "put off the harness." If these men who have already made so many sacrifices for the cause of benevolence, are worthy of the confidence I have expressed, and which I feel, they will recede from the position they have assumed as untenable, and subversive of their objects.

The influence of this excitement is most unhappy and injurious also on the minds and interests of those, who are the objects of it, both masters and slaves. The excitement, which awakens from lethargy, may subserve the interests of truth, because it is necessary to a practical action,—but the moment it inflames to passion, reason is obscured, argument is at an end, and truth suffers. This is precisely the present state of the case. You cannot now argue the subject with the master. You might once have done it—you may do it hereafter—but *you cannot do it now*. It is a matter, which belongs to himself personally. Your interference is impertinent, and you have excluded yourself from the right to debate the question. He says, you shall not debate the subject—he withdraws it from controversy. And he exercises his RIGHT. Here you see one evil, and but one, which the present excitement has produced in its influence on the mind of the slaveholder. He is put in an attitude of defence, a most unfavorable position always for the reception of truth. If he would permit the argument to proceed, if he consents to entertain the subject, you have awakened in him the strongest prejudices, and raised the most insuperable obstacles to his conviction. You have *for the present* excluded the subject from argument. You may go into any gentleman's house, and with courtesy and kindness introduce the most important, and often the most unacceptable

of all subjects, the subject of religion. He will hear you, and you may lay the truth to his conscience. But, enter his house with rashness, superciliousness, and disregarding the common principles of civility, attack him rudely, in presence of his domestics, and awaken his pride and other bad passions,—I say to you, however, philanthropic and pious your intentions, however important the subject, however just may be your own views on that subject, and however erroneous his, he will be very likely to open his door, and direct you to leave his house. You may, as you retire, commend your own faithfulness, but it has been exercised at the expense of prudence, and politeness, and the common courtesies of life. And is this a proper exemplification of the spirit of our religion? Is this the example of Christ? Is this “the servant of the Lord,” who is directed, in his efforts of benevolence, to be “gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient; in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance, to the acknowledgning of the truth?” You may be very bold, and active, and energetic in a good cause,—but your usefulness is at end.

Such is the result of the abolition movements of the present day—they have excluded the subject of slavery from debate with the slaveholder. You cannot come here with it. Does any abolition lecturer come into the slaveholding country? No. He cannot even pass the boundary line with personal safety. He cannot even speak now, by his printed argument. He is not permitted to use the press to communicate his views to the South, a privilege never before denied. I simply state the fact, now well known. I sincerely hope that the lesson already given will effectually foreclose any attempt to introduce this subject into the next Congress. It will not be entertained. It should in no form, be attempted. It is enough with every prudent man to say, it can do no good. It should be enough with every selfish, and rash man, every one, not utterly blind, and deaf to reason, and experience, to reflect on the certainty that it must do much harm. Time alone can cure the evils inflicted on the cause of the slave by imprudent friends.

Whatever is done for the abolition of slavery must be

done by time, by dispassionate argument, by the slaveholder himself. The evils of slavery are great—but the greatest evil is suffered by the master himself. It only needs that those evils be felt, to lead the master to a course of conduct, which will first mitigate those evils, and then extinguish them. The massacre at Southampton opened the eyes of the South to views of truth and duty in relation to slavery, which nothing has served so much to obscure and retard, as the imprudent interference of the northern abolitionists. The prospective increase of the slave population, the dangers consequent, the necessity of limiting and diminishing their numbers, the necessity and duty of elevating their moral and intellectual character, with the means of effecting these objects, began seriously to engage the public attention and efforts, and more has been done than ever before, to furnish to the slave population religious instruction, and relieve the evils of their condition. Christian masters, and ministers of the Gospel, especially, were actively engaged with much success, until a set of gentlemen from abroad, interfered, saying, “Sirs, you are altogether behind the age. This slavery is a sin, and the only way to treat sin is to leave it off. Therefore, immediate abolition is the true doctrine, and these slaves are your fellow citizens.” This doctrine could not be received—and when it is officiously, and pertinaciously and imprudently urged, the slaveholder says to the abolitionist, leave my house, Sir,—you shall not be permitted to speak to me or my family. The United States’ Mail shall not be permitted to shield your incendiary publications from the flames; and if you continue to be equally regardless of my rights and my life, there is no law, and no country, that shall protect yours.

The late disclosures in Mississippi, calculated to produce similar results on slavery as the insurrection already referred to, have only thrown greater difficulties over the whole subject. Occasional insurrection is one of the evils inseparably incident to slavery. I do not know that any direct connection has been traced between that conspiracy, (embracing the agency of hundreds of white men,) and the abolitionists. Yet the moment it occurs, the eyes of all men are turned to them, and public indig-

nation towards them is embittered. The consequence is, attention is diverted from the elements of danger, which are inherent in the organization of a slave country, to those agencies abroad, whose action is regarded as necessarily productive of such consequences. Had we been left to contemplate these evils *as inherent in our society*, and this as one of their necessary developements, the lesson would have had a salutary influence such as we need, and such as the abolitionist both desires and prevents. The abolitionist is now execrated, and the privileges of the slaves abridged—whereas, the proper and legitimate influence of such events, should be, and but for the abolitionists would, in this case, be, to lead the slave-holders to adopt measures to diminish the number of slaves, and elevate the moral character of the balance. To this course the master is strongly urged,—greatest fidelity to their masters has always been found in pious slaves. Very few of such character have ever adopted the principles of the abolitionists.

Such are some of the influences produced by the present excitement on the agitators themselves, on the masters and on the slaves. A train of evils, and evils only, grow out of this state of things, which I should be glad to bring to your consideration, had not this letter been already too extended. Before I close, let me advert to one very plausible and very popular retreat, which these agitators adopt, when called on to look at the necessary and bloody consequences of their work. They say, we address the master, and direct our publications only to intelligent citizens, who are at perfect liberty to return them, if they will not hear us. It is not so. Literally I do not believe Mr. Tappan, and other noble men, worthy of a better fame than they are now procuring to themselves—I do not believe *they* would place their publications in the hands of slaves of the South. But if permitted to come here, they cannot be excluded from the hands of the slaves. Does not Mr. Tappan know that they are made the wrapping papers to our wares and articles of domestic use—and thus are transmitted from the shop to the kitchen by the hand of the slave himself? They are smuggled into the baggage of travelers to the South,—if these

travelers themselves are to be credited, and thrown out in every direction as waste paper. I know how to separate Arthur Tappan from these disgraceful tricks, but others, who know him only as the zealous president of the Abolition Society, trace them to no other responsibility. It is not singular, then, that the leaders, in this work of butchery, should be made responsible for the acts of the party. They are the authors of wrongs, which they know to exist, can prevent, and neglect. **THEY MUST RECEDE.** They will recede ; will they not ?

## LETTER VI.

*South Carolina, Aug. 22, 1835.*

REV. SILAS McKEEN:

*Dear Brother,—*We should never undertake to award a sentence to the South as a slaveholding community, nor against slavery as it there exists, without recurring to the history of its introduction, and applying the golden rule to the measure of our judicial opinion—"to do to others as we would they should do to us."

In its first introduction, slavery was forced upon the states, then colonies. The active agents, employed in stealing the fathers of the present African race in this country, and in conveying them from their native shores, were not the ancestors of the present slaveholders. They were either Europeans, or northerners of the United States, who were interested in commerce. Many of them were New England men, whose descendants are now living on the estates thus accumulated.

In presenting slavery as a sin to the mind of a slaveholder, it is to be considered that he is deeply interested. You propose to take away his property without an equivalent, and make him poor. You must not, then, be soon angry, nor harsh, if you do not make him see at once with your eyes, and accord with your sentiments. He occupies a very different position, and you cannot easily place him in yours until you make a *bona fide* purchase of his slaves, and then use the arguments against his opinions, affecting your property, which you have now to urge against the combined force of his early prejudices, cherished sentiments, and pecuniary interest. You are to consider that he has inherited to a certain degree, his father's opin-

ions as well as his property ; and to think and do as our fathers did is dictated by a deep rooted pride of ancestry, if not by a law of nature. It is to be considered also, that in our country there is a *North* and a *South*, and although we may seek to bind them together by indissoluble bonds, they are, and always will be, wider apart than the *East* and the *West*. The very subject before us forms one of the distinctive features of difference between those who are still counted as brethren.

Suppose your brother should come to you, and declare that your nose is freckled, and insist on skinning it, or that your head is deformed and undertake to scalp you ;—would you readily submit to the operation ? No sir ; you would not submit. You would attribute his conduct to mental derangement or to every bad motive, and alienation would irresistably fix upon your feelings. Suppose he should get impatient and knock you down ;—would that have any tendency to *convince* you ? Would it not enrage you, and drive you farther from him ? He must first convince you that what he says is true—that there was a mistake in your formation and that he can rectify it. He must also convince you that these sacrifices and sufferings are a duty, or that they will be fully compensated by greater advantages. The task will be still more difficult if the peculiarity in your formation is charged as a deformity, touching deeply your pride ; and at the same time condemned as a sin, the greater because persisted in. Your brother must proceed very tenderly with you, or he will never induce you to be skinned and scalped, and you will go down to the grave with your deformities in spite of his philanthropy and fraternal expostulations.

The supposition in the argument is precisely applicable. You have to *convince* the slaveholder, before you can induce him to *any course* of conduct. Some of them, you must convince that nature has made a mistake in her formation, or, what is in effect the same in application to his practice, you must convince him that he is wrong in his views of nature's works. You must then clear the subject as respects his duty and personal interests, and until you do this, all your harsh language, criminations or violence will do no good, will only make him more per-

verse in his supposed errors—*supposed* errors in *your* code of morality, the reverse in *his*.

The people of the South must be *convinced* before they can be *influenced*. This is what I have attempted to place in a strong light. Until this conviction is effected, nothing is done. This subject cannot be approached by authority. The authority is in their favor—the Constitution, the palladium of our rights. They cannot be influenced by force. Every slaveholder in the country would suffer himself to be immolated, if he could not effectually resist, before he will submit to dictation on this subject. The slaves themselves may be excited to rebellion, and may, in the conflict kill many of their masters. But every body knows what must be the result in such a conflict. Neighborhoods of white people may suffer, may be annihilated, but the men, who have effected this havoc, have only procured a greater slaughter of the poor slaves and a heavier bondage, which must always be the result in such conflicts. They never can be free, but by the voluntary consent of the master. This consent can never be compelled. It must be voluntary, under a conviction of personal interest or duty.

In order, then, to relieve, as far as possible the evils of slavery, and to terminate a quarrel among brethren, which has already proceeded almost to the last extremity, and threatens the very existence of the nation, in its federal and hitherto happy union, I will venture to propose a *PLAN*—and any man may *propose* a plan. I would propose, that in all our consultations for the benefit of the people of color, the great question to be discussed should be—“*how can their moral and intellectual elevation be most effectually promoted?*” That the efforts of all our societies, now formed or that may hereafter be formed in behalf of the colored race, be directed to their moral and intellectual improvement. That it be the duty of each society to expend its energies on the objects of its benevolence within its own district, or to help other societies of the country in their laudable labors, with their consent and approbation.

This must result in the termination of slavery, or in the annihilation of its worst evils. It will bring about a con-

trolling force of public opinion. As the moral character of the slave is elevated, he becomes more valuable, and his right, will be more respected by his master. Let this moral improvement proceed, and the result, every Christian can easily estimate. This course of investigation will discover to us that there are others besides the slaves, who call for similar sympathies. In the slaveholding states are one hundred and eighty two thousand free colored people, and one hundred and twenty two thousand in the free states. But is there properly a free man among them ? Not one. Which is the most free ? And which is to be preferred, the slavery of the one or the nominal freedom of the other ? What can you do for them ? And what ought we to do ? These and objects like these are worthy of an inquiry, and their execution is worthy of an effort.

In the mean time, let every thing be done with the utmost kindness, mutual forbearance and Christian charity. Let us seek facts, and look at them steadily on all sides. Let us seek to convince by argument and kindness, " forbearing threatening." Let this course be persevered in, until every slave and every man of color is converted to the faith of the Gospel and the hope of heaven, or until we can wash our hands and say we have done our duty. To the abolitionist, there is one consideration in favor of this plan, which must, if entertained, have some weight with him ; it *may* lead to the final emancipation of the slaves ; the contrary course, the course now pursued, *never can*. One other consideration, which must have weight with every good man, is this ; it can give no offence to any one ; the course now pursued gives offence to almost every one.

Are there any ardent minds, who will pronounce this a spiritless course ? It is the spirit of the Gospel ; powerful as it is quiet, noiseless, but operative, attacking the seat of principle, and giving a tone to the moral feelings, from which flow all the charities and valuable sympathies of life. This spirit has always been denounced by bad men, and sometimes by inconsiderate and rash good men. Yet it is the lever, whose successful application has moved the moral world. It is not rash men nor a rash

course, which has accomplished great revolutions, and procured great blessings for the human family. Luther, although often accused as such, was not a rash man. His moderation was constantly taxed to restrain the impetuosity, and retrieve the losses sustained by the rashness of some of his followers ; men who, with all his zeal, lacked his prudence and wisdom. The same may be said of Calvin. A good cause is often injured more by indiscreet friends than by open enemies. The Colonization Society was too tardy for the ardent benevolence of some spirits of the age, and the Abolition Society is formed. But it will retard, all that is practicable of their wishes, and bring incalculable evils on the slaves of the South. "For all things there is a time,"—that is, for all things, which God has appointed to be done, He has appointed *a time*. He, who would be employed as an honored instrument to accomplish good for his race, must take God's time. The present is evidently *not* the time for the extinction of slavery in the southern states. But it is eminently *the time* for their *moral improvement*, and in this, we are diligently and successfully engaged. **LET US ALONE.**

But the abolitionist, I know will still ask,—“must we leave the poor slave in his bondage ?” I say to him—yes, Sir, *you must leave him there*, where your ill directed, though perhaps well intended, zeal has prolonged his servitude. Many good men at the South look forward with hope and expectation to an eventual termination of slavery. Indeed I have always been struck with the similarity of views entertained on the subject by intelligent men at the North and the South. But that cannot now be discussed. **THE SUBJECT MUST BE DEFERRED.** The idea has been favored in many minds to effect a termination of slavery, *after the slaves are prepared for freedom*, by a compensation to the owners. But *this* must be done by consent. It cannot be made a national question. You will not be permitted to discuss it on the floor of Congress. It *might have been done* on any principle of common courtesy. But it cannot *now* be done—it cannot be done for years to come, if ever. The discussion on this subject must be had in the state legislatures, and must finally

be disposed of by the citizens of the slaveholding states.

Our abolition brethren have more philanthropy than logic or discretion. The true premises in the case would certainly lead wise men to very different action. Let us look at some of them.

1. Slavery as it here exists, is not a subject of national legislation.

2. The continuance of slavery in South Carolina (I specify a state) depends entirely and solely on the will of the citizens of South Carolina.

3. If George Thompson, Esq., or any class of men would change the tenure of slavery in South Carolina, they must influence the minds of her citizens. If they would efface the spots on the sun, they must gain access to it.

Yet what have they done? They have transferred the discussion from its legitimate limits. They have attempted to force it into a legislative action, where it can never be admitted. They have done every thing to alienate different sections of our beloved country. They have palsied the arm, that has been exerted for the real benefit of the slave at home. And by forcing this UNION to the point of dissolution, they have done more to prove the favorite position of tyrants, that "MAN IS UNFIT FOR LIBERTY," than has been done in relation to our "grand experiment," by all other causes. I feel confident that I have now *proposed* all that, *in the present state of the subject*, is either practicable or prudent.

And now, my dear sir, in answering your questions, I have been led to say more than I at first intended, but much less than I should be glad to express to you. I pray that we may all seek and find wisdom from above, that this agitating subject may be directed by that wisdom, and I pray also that nothing I have said may offend God or injure my fellow men, but on the contrary be attended with unmixed good.

## LETTER VII.

*South Carolina, Nov. 21, 1835.*

**REV. SILAS McKEEN:**

*Dear Brother,*—In a brief rejoinder to your reply just received in the Mirror of the 29th ult., it is not my intention to prolong discussion, but simply to clear the subject, and leave it unembarrassed, for the double purpose that we may understand each other and be understood, and that the facts and sentiments expressed by me may be left to their fair and proper influence.

Your letter is sufficiently kind and liberal; and yet you reply to my letters under the expressed apprehension that they contain “statements and reasonings, which, if suffered to pass unnoticed, might produce very injurious effects.” I shall be entirely satisfied to leave the whole to its legitimate effect with a few brief explanations on some of those points, which have awakened your apprehensions.

You are not satisfied that I call the slaves “the *property* of their holders.” “Qui haeret in litera, haeret in cortice;” *he, who contends for a word, abandons the argument.* I have no partiality for the term. I spoke of the thing as it is. The slave is the property of the master. He is so in law. The holder is a rich man with this possession, he is a poor man without it. In South Carolina, slaves are a man’s property as much as his land is his property. The use of the term can surely, at this day, be distinguished from the *moral right* to hold this *species of property*, or in other words, to hold *men as property*. It requires only capacity to distinguish the difference between a fact and a principle to settle the appro-

priate use of this term. In South Carolina, negroes are held *as property*. I have simply said, therefore, that when you talk to the holder of his duty to liberate his slaves, you require him to give up his *property*, and this is one of the practical difficulties you have to encounter.

Were it my misfortune to be made, in the case you suppose, an Algerine captive, I certainly should have become the property of the man, who paid the price for me in the market, and put me to the oar. And if you in your philanthropy or personal friendship should come to my relief, you would effect but little by all your fine, and cogent and well supported moral theories urged for my liberation. My master would not heed them. I am his property, and you must bring the cash, and buy me, just as you would his horse, or must convince him that it is wrong for him to hold *men as property*: otherwise I shall die in slavery, notwithstanding all *your* morality, and your sympathy. My master thinks it is right for him to hold slaves. I would not thank you to tell him he is a villain, and that you would "advise me to cut his throat." You would only make me the more a slave, and although you might insist that by a long residence in the Barbary states, I had become "more assimilated to their modes of thinking, and feeling and reasoning than I was aware,"—still I think, without despising your friendship, I should be constrained to say,—**LET ME ALONE.** At least, I should advise you to chasten your zeal by discretion; to approach my owner in such a way as to enable you to *influence* him, or you may as well gain his consent to be *skinned* or *scalped* as to be *robbed*: for this is the aspect in which he would regard your visit. This is all I have said. I have only urged that you must be very careful how you approach this subject, or you cannot *influence* the slave-holder. To guard against misapprehension, I explained myself by this conclusion.—"*The people of the South must be convinced before they can be influenced. This is what I have attempted to place in a strong light.*" If you will review the argument, you will at once perceive that there was no design to represent "slaveholding as a natural calamity for which a man is no more to blame than for some physical deformity of his face or his skull." Of

course his apprehension is without foundation that my "reasoning in the case is suited to administer an opiate to the consciences of slaveholders, and to make them feel altogether too easy." I might with more propriety be accused by the slaveholder of a design to instruct the abolitionist how he might succeed in his plans.

But to go a little farther with my own case, in the predicament you have supposed, as a galley-slave; suppose my owner should adopt in some luckless moment, the doctrine of *immediate abolition*, and disregarding, in a phrenzy of benevolence, his own convenience while rowed in state by his obedient slaves, should take himself the oar and cast me into the sea. Perhaps, *although a slave*, I might crave the labor of the oar rather than to be eaten by the fishes. I might perhaps with great ease and pleasure swim to the shore, but then I *might* also encounter the jaws of the sharks. Or, arrived safely on shore, either by my own exertions or through the courtesy of my master, I might be ignorant of the language of the country, destitute of the means of living, a stranger and liable to be taken again and sold into a deeper bondage, or exposed to greater evils than those of slavery. Might I not sigh for the protection of my master, and lament his conversion to abolition principles? Might he not at least have *prepared me for freedom*, by educating me in the language of the country, and furnishing some necessary facilities and means of protection from the evils which surround me? Would you not as my friend, if you were there, where you have sought to try my principles, would you not plead for me that my bondage might be prolonged, and my freedom granted under other and more favorable circumstances? I know you would. And I think you would urge upon him *the law of love* to enforce your argument.

When you charge upon the whites the fault that the slaves are unfit for freedom, you are not, as you seem to suppose, combatting any position of mine. I have simply stated the fact. There it is. Remove it, and then we shall have advanced a step. When you go to the white man and tell him he ought to instruct his slave, I go with you. When you tell the white man of the free states that

he ought to seek the intellectual and moral elevation of the negro race, I go with you ; and when you show me exertions there for this end equal to those which are now made here for the slave, you show me what never existed up to the period of my removal from New England. "*The dogs*" are not all South of Mason and Dixon's line.

You complain of the distinction I make between slavery in the abstract, and the right to hold a slave under given circumstances as an "approximation to the truth," and liable to abuse. On the contrary, I regard it as the truth itself, and less liable to bring injury to all concerned than any other theory in the case. If domestic slavery as it exists in this country did not exist at all, I should know of no way to introduce it. Here is my view of slavery in the abstract. Yet, if I were the owner of a slave ; which I am not and never expect to be ; *if I were*, I have no morality and no religion, which would require or permit me, *absolutely and without regard to circumstances*, to give him his freedom. My application of the *law of love* would forbid it. I could perhaps do better by him. Does this position "furnish every slaveholder in the land with a sufficient excuse for his conduct ?" To his own master he stands or falls. If he cannot be influenced by *the truth*, I will not do evil that good may come. There are some men, who will abuse every wholesome truth. For myself, I would prefer in my Algerine captivity, the protection of a good master, to liberty under a great variety of supposable and possible circumstances. And I would do to others as I would have others, *in similar circumstances*, do to me,

In giving you some facts to show that much is done to instruct the slaves of this country, I took good care to inform you that it was only one side of the picture, and that we could present a very different view of the same subject, on which we were accustomed to dwell when attempting to urge on our efforts. That other side of the picture, you have quoted from the report of a Committee of our Synod in 1833, "*quorum fui pars*," *in which I participated*. It is not at variance with my present statements. One is a view of what we have done, compared

with nothing ; the other, compared with what remains to be done, and ought to be done. So we are accustomed to speak on all our great benevolent enterprises. You, I have no doubt, so regard your own statement of the case, which, to a superficial reader, might imply a discrepancy.

You think I "do injustice to the abolitionists." I would not do them injustice. If I understand them, and I think I do, they insist on immediate abolition at all hazards. They assume that this subject is a national concern, and slavery is a national disgrace. They have written and circulated incendiary publications in a manner calculated to excite insurrection. Some of the most unguarded of them have openly avowed this design. Their whole course of proceeding is calculated to produce this result. They are rash, unadvised and obstinate. They defeat their object, agitate the country, and are bringing lasting evils on the whole nation. All this I believe, and with more concessions in favor of the motives of many of their leading men than it is popular to make, I believe their schemes productive of more evil than they will ever be able to repair. This I say of abolitionism and abolitionists as a body, while I greatly respect and highly esteem many men of this class.

I see in the Abolition Society of Maine the names of some men, whom I know and esteem among the best. In the report of their meeting held in Brunswick on the 28th of October, I see the following preamble and resolution recorded as *adopted* ; viz.—“Whereas it is often said by our opponents that slaves ought not to be liberated till they are properly educated, and whereas those opponents are often complaining that abolitionists have done nothing towards liberating the slaves, therefore, RESOLVED, That we *have liberated* as many as our opponents have *educated* and promise to continue to do the same.” This is a noble resolution, and I am sure that, under the deliberate action of such men, it cannot be mere gasconade. No doubt, some calculations were furnished by the mover to show that the assertion contained in the resolution was the truth. Although I feel confident that other statements might be substantiated to subvert the position, yet it is the *pledge* which is of principal importance ; and coming from

such men it is of great value. I can render them, perhaps some important aid in fulfilment of this most benevolent pledge. I know not less than five hundred slaves who are "properly educated," in my judgment, for freedom, and I presume my opinion of their qualifications in this respect will be admitted: They have been educated by "opponents" of the abolitionists, and can be procured at a fair price, according to the laws of the country. Any agencies, which may be appointed to effect the plan of the "Anti-Slavery Society of Maine," in the fair purchase of them for "liberation," shall have my aid, and I have no doubt the number may be, by a little inquiry swelled to thousands, and constantly increased. Will you please to announce this interesting information to that enterprising and benevolent society, in such a way as will enable them *immediately* to carry their resolution into effect.

In conclusion you express some surprise that I should say, **LET US ALONE**. Let me assure you, my dear sir, this is the best thing you can do for us; it is all you can now do, and doing this you will do much. Can you not comprehend it? Was you ever sick, and in that sickness did you ever find your chamber crowded with officious, well disposed, anxious friends, plying you with questions, and insisting on doing something for you, until your disease was aggravated, and the fever inflamed by the very remedies attempted? And have you not heartily wished that they would *let you alone*, and leave you to the regular nurses? If so, this illustration will enable you to comprehend the import of my exhortation—**LET US ALONE**. The example is intended to illustrate this point only.

To the "Maine Anti-Slavery Society," I would say, however, go on with your noble resolution, and much may be done to soothe and heal old wounds, and promote emancipation.

To the "Maine Union in behalf of the colored race," I would say, diligently prosecute your noble object. Take the colored people of Maine or New England, and elevate them to the moral and intellectual character of which they are susceptible, and show us, what I fully believe, but many doubt, that they are not inferior in mental endowment to the white man; and you will have enough to

do, and doing it, will have accomplished a great work ; great not only in itself but in its diversified influence on the interests of the negro race. You will by this means most directly and effectually act on the slave and on slavery, deeply, silently, peacefully, effectually.

And now, brother McKeen, I hope we are better friends than ever. You think that in avoiding the rocks on one hand, I am in danger from the whirlpool. In return let me say to you, I fear you are sailing too near the breakers. I am glad of this opportunity to hail you in the voyage of life, and hope we shall neither of us "hate instruction and despise reproof," but keeping a good lookout, may avoid all the *ultraisms* of the times, preserve the "golden mean," and make our port in peace.

## LETTER VIII.

To Rev. Asa Cummings,

Editor of the Christian Mirror.

*Dear Sir*,—In public answers recently made through your columns, to several questions propounded to me on the subject of slavery, I have an earnest desire that what has been said should have its due weight and no more.

Yet I feel deeply in view of the possible and probable issue of this great controversy, and must ask the privilege, in a final communication, to present THAT ISSUE to the consideration of your readers, as it appears to my own mind.

The abolition societies cannot now be considered contemptible either in numbers or influence. They embrace many men of worth, and many ministers of the Gospel, whose motives, I doubt not are purely Christian. Under the impulse of this principle, in a cause, which is regarded by them as involving great interests, they will be active, energetic and efficient. This action has assumed a system, and embraces numbers, and exerts a power, which must bear with great effect on its object for good or for evil. That it commenced in the claim of Christian philanthropy, gives us the greatest reason to fear that there may be no abatement of zeal and effort until a *dreadful issue* shall compel them to see the truth when repentance shall be unavailing.

The seat of these operations is in the northern states, remote from the evil whose removal is sought, and conducted hitherto by a small minority of the people of those states. They began in benevolence toward the slave, and a desire to give him his liberty. Certain assumed premises have been urged as constituting an obligation to ac-

tion. A plan is laid for the attainment of the object, which has now been diligently prosecuted for several years. No constitutional right to interfere with the existence of slavery in the states is claimed. The positions are these. The slaves of the southern states have an original and unalienable right to freedom. It is, therefore, a paramount duty of their holders to give them their freedom at once and at all hazards. And although the Constitution of this nation protects these slaveholders in the right of their slave property, this provision is in contravention of a higher law, the law of nature, and the great moral law of love. Therefore, it is the first duty of the nation, in the discharge of high moral obligations, lying at the foundation of social order, to demand the abrogation of slavery, at once, universally and forever, and leave the consequences to the natural operation of that great moral law, under which the emancipation is claimed.

To effect these great objects, a system of measures is adopted and prosecuted with great labor, which is designed to convert the nation to their opinions, and thereby accomplish their object, the extinction of slavery.

We find the subject now involved in bitter controversy. The conflict thickens. Human passions evidently urge on the "holy war." It hastens to its issue. Is it not possible to call a truce? Does not policy require it of our abolition brethren? Is it not demanded by Christian prudence? May they not find it profitable to review the premises, see what has been gained or lost, what they are now driving at, and what must be the issue? Things may look very differently at the place they now occupy from the "form and feature," and prospect they presented three years ago. Some errors, then unconsciously embraced, may have been since corrected, new information may have been gained, or circumstances may now indicate a change of action. What was begun in Christian philanthropy may have awakened, in conflict, the worst passions, and be prosecuted with a spirit of unkindness or revenge. May I not ask my abolition brethren, may I not ask all, to pause and review the whole ground, present state, and probable issue of the controversy?

This review may be embraced under three inquiries.

*First*, the soundness of the positions taken in the premises by the abolitionists, of which I have just endeavored to give a candid statement. *Secondly*, the character of the measures they have pursued to accomplish their objects, with the present state of the controversy: and *Thirdly*, the issue, which they now make and which is inevitable in the successful prosecution of their plans.

On the *first* inquiry, I cannot here enter, except so far as is necessary to guard the premises from perversion. Liberty is a natural right. This is granted. It is a first principle. Yet, as a naked proposition put into the mouth of every man under every possible variety of circumstances, it is a dangerous fallacy, the opposite extreme of the doctrine that "might makes right." It can be applied to the *immediate* emancipation of the southern slaves with no more safety or propriety than the "right of the strongest" can furnish to the poor of New England a pretext to employ their physical or numerical superiority to enforce an agrarian law.

None will deny that a maniac or an idiot may be restrained of his liberty. So may a minor. A vagrant, wandering about in the freedom of nature, may be imprisoned, and compelled to work for his daily bread. An idle, lazy, pilfering people may be enslaved, and are liable to be so. A man, committing suicide may be deprived of his liberty. I say, therefore, the right, which a man has to his own liberty, depends to some extent on circumstances, and must be held in relation to the rights of all others. He may not have a right to his liberty, which would endanger the life, or property, or morals of his neighbor, as the case of the maniac, the thief and the vagrant may serve for illustration. The naked proposition, as applied to the slaves of the South for their *immediate* emancipation, is a fallacy. It would injure them, and endanger the essential rights of others. Are the other cases referred to, subjects of law, so is slavery the subject of the highest human law, conventional law.

If the proposition is applied specifically to the act of stealing men from Africa, and subjecting them to slavery, the laws of all the states against the slave trade have pronounced upon, and affirmed it piracy. But when made to

apply to the slaves in these states, requiring their *immediate emancipation*, the position is denied, and here the controversy commences. The abolitionists can exercise no constitutional power over the slaves or slavery, and can succeed in the emancipation of these slaves only by converting the owners to their opinions. Under this state of the question, the abolitionists commence operations.

On the *second* head of inquiry let us now review the *measures they have pursued to accomplish their objects*, and the present state of the controversy. They began by establishing societies *at the North* for the express object of effecting the extinction of slavery in the *southern states*. They proceeded to establish newspapers in aid of this cause, to extend their societies *through the non-slaveholding states*, to publish tracts, to hold anniversary meetings, to send lecturers through the country, and by these, and various other means, to produce a general excitement on the subject of slavery. These papers and tracts were often false in fact, and dictated by the most bitter and denunciatory spirit against the holders of slaves. It is true, this has been denied, and in their ardent zeal and peculiar temper, it is possible the authors and patrons of these publications thought the denial true. Mild and temperate they might have been compared with the restrained and smothered spirit, which remained unexpressed. But I hazard nothing in saying, that with all, except the pledged friends of the cause, they have been deemed bitter, accusatory, and highly offensive in their language and spirit. These publications have been sent frequently to slaveholders, and others at the South, particularly to ministers of the Gospel. During the last year, large sums of money were raised for printing and distributing pamphlets and papers of the same character, with the professed design to awaken the country to one indignant effort to exterminate slavery.

These publications, in due time, came out, like the locusts on the face of Egypt. They formed the wrapping paper for our wares, and articles of domestic use: They were surreptitiously packed with our goods and boxes, and stowed with the baggage of southern travelers, and thrown into their carriage boxes. They presented to the

eyes of those, who could not read, the *picture* of the story they told. They finally flooded the country through the channel of the United States' Mail, until the people at the South, by one unlawful act at Charleston, and several summary processes in other places on individual adventurers, proclaimed in a voice to be heard through the nation—but with a moderation truly surprising, under the *then existing state of excitement*—proclaimed that the match prepared to fire the magazine, should not be permitted to enter, even under authority of the United States seal—that there was *one thing* more sacred than the UNION itself, THAT for which the union was created.

Here new questions were agitated on the subject of State rights, freedom of speech, &c., and new sympathies were enlisted, into a consideration of which I will not now enter. The South at this juncture said to the abolitionists, you have forfeited the privilege of a further hearing. You shall not speak to us on this subject. You may listen to your own declamations, or declaim to those who will hear, but you shall not speak on this side the Potomac, nor find a cover for your incendiary publications.

But this has produced no relaxation of their efforts, no softening of their spirit, no indication of a conciliatory temper. The contest still rages. The South is united in support of their own institutions, and against the abolitionists. The abolitionists, shut out from a hearing at *the South*, proceed with untiring zeal, in an effort to convert *the North* to their peculiar views. And what if they succeed? What then? They have already united the South. They will then have united the North. In what? Why, they will have succeeded in uniting the North against the South and the South against the North. They will have planted a root of bitterness, which will strike deep in the very structure of society, whose luxuriant fruits shall be plucked and eaten by our children, perhaps to the latest generation.

THIS IS THE ISSUE. It is inevitable. When the North shall say to the South, "We do not claim a constitutional right to interfere with your institutions, but you *must* and *shall* abandon your slavery, for it is wrong"—then this Union is at an end. The practical result is inevitable. And

I am pained to see that this is the issue now boldly and openly made, not only by the rash spirits who have led the way and borne the execrations of an honest and indignant community, but by their most influential and responsible men. Their motto is legibly written, "Union without slavery, or disunion with it." "We are proceeding rapidly," said an eminent abolitionist, "to gain the North. Let us succeed in uniting the North and we will take care of the South." The last labor will be spared them. The South will then, be assured, take care of herself.

I cannot believe that all, who have espoused the cause of the abolitionists, understand them distinctly to make the issue I have stated. I believe many would shudder at the thought. Yet, that such is the settled and deliberate purpose of the Society, as well as the uniform tendency and inevitable result of their measures, might be shown by copious reference to their published papers. In confirmation of this position, I will only refer to one of their number, a man who cannot occupy a place in the ranks of any party without becoming a leader—a man, whose philanthropy, general candor, and unblemished character secure universal respect and give influence to his opinions on every subject. In the honesty of his heart, he uses the following decisive and portentous language in his speech at Peterborough, on the occasion of his public assent to the principles of the abolition Society: "It cannot be disguised, sir, that war has broken out between the South and the North, not easily to be terminated. Political and commercial men for their own purposes, are industriously striving to restore a peace. But the peace, which they will accomplish, will be superficial and hollow. True and permanent peace can only be restored by removing the cause of the war—that is, slavery. It can never be established on any other terms. The sword, now drawn will not be sheathed till victory, entire victory is ours or theirs. Not until that deep and damning stain is washed from our nation, or the chains of slavery are riveted afresh where they now are and on our necks also. It is idle, criminal to speak of peace on any other terms." Such is the public declaration of Gerrit Smith—sustained by the avowal of others on all sides that we will wash our

hands of the sin of slavery, even at the expense of the Union.

Now what is the actual state of public opinion at the South. There are some, who contend that slavery is a political and social blessing. This is the view of the subject presented in the last annual message of Gov. McDuffie. The same sentiment was expressed by Gov. Miller several years ago. So far as my knowledge of individual opinion extends, this precise view of the subject is not extensively entertained. There is probably a large class, who think it justifiable on political, social and religious principles, necessary to the prosperity of the country, and that it must be perpetuated. There is also a numerous class, who would be glad to see the system terminated, who have been anxiously looking for some practicable scheme of emancipation, in which the real good of the slave, and the safety of the country, should be consulted and sustained, and who are willing to make great personal sacrifices whenever such a prospect shall open. Yet, on the question of holding their slaves under existing circumstances, the consciences of the holders, are entirely at ease. I do not think that the best Bible Christians here meet with any difficulty on this point. On the question of duty, *as made by the abolitionists*, there is the most perfect unanimity in the four southern Atlantic states, and I think also through the entire South. On the *issue now made by the abolitionists too*, there is an equal unanimity, and the motto is, according to the original compact, "The Union with slavery, or disunion without it."

The united action of all the ecclesiastical bodies at the South on this subject is decided, and decisive of the sentiments of Christians. And I ask my Christian friends of the abolition Society—is not the opinion of the whole southern Church of some important weight in this matter? Grant that the politicians are influenced by ambitious motives, and the merchants and tradesmen by the mere sordid love of gain, can you easily believe that those thousands of ministers of the Gospel, who "count not their lives dear to them," who do, and suffer, as much as any set of ministers in our land—can you believe that *they, and the tens of thousands of Church members associated*

with them, are recreant to their Master and his cause on earth, when they tell you that *you* are palsying their arms extended to the spiritual relief of the slave, that *you* are rivetting his chains, that *you* are multiplying his stripes, and increasing his burdens, that *you* are taking from him the bread of life, and making no return? Where then will the RESPONSIBILITY rest, if these slaves perish in their sins? Will you not hear us when we assure you that *you* are doing the cause of the slave no good but much harm? Will you not be entreated to desist? Then we must say the RESPONSIBILITY BE ON YOU! I would not bear it. It is the price of souls.

I know some good men, assuming that the slaves *ought now* to be free, put off the responsibility from themselves by assuming also that their measures *ought not* to have an injurious effect on the interests of the slave; and if they do have that effect, it is not their fault. But they reason against fact. They may also prove from the known laws of matter that the planets *ought* to move in circles, and not in elliptical orbits round the sun, and if they *do move* in ellipses, the sun *ought* to be in the centre, and not in the focus of the ellipse. But notwithstanding the demonstrations, there are the facts standing against them. There are the planets moving steadily in their elliptical orbits, and there is the sun maintaining his station in the focal point. Their *moral demonstrations* may satisfy the consciences of the abolitionists, and give energy to their action, but they are damning to the slave who is made the object of a false and fatal philanthropy. Let the RESPONSIBILITY rest where it ought.

I have said that the statements, by which the abolition society attempts to make its converts, are false as well as bitter and denunciatory. False in point of fact, I say and repeat. I might, if necessary, furnish copious proof to this point, which must throw a tremendous RESPONSIBILITY on the members of that society. I will, however, make one reference. I suppose the Society will not shrink from the responsibility of what is presented at their annual meetings, in resolutions carefully prepared beforehand, urged on the public acceptance by popular declamation, and passed unanimously. At the last anniversary

of the abolition society in the city of New-York, the following resolution was offered and supported by one of their most popular speakers, and received with great applause. "Resolved, That the practice of suffering one sixth part of the population of this Christian land to perish destitute of the volume of revelation, and the ministry of the Gospel is inconsistent with the profession of zeal for the conversion of the world." "This resolution I offer," said the speaker, "has respect to the moral and spiritual condition of your colored population; and I do say that one sixth of your entire population are left to perish without the word of God, or the ministry of the Gospel." Again he says, "It is true there are in South Carolina not twelve slaveholders who instruct their slaves."

Now did not the speaker know, and did not those who furnished him with this resolution, and those who applauded him, know that this resolution asserted a falsehood? And that the whole eloquent harangue appended to it was as false as it was unjust to the South, and especially to the Christian church? I assert for South Carolina, that her slave population are less destitute of the volume of revelation than a large class of the peasantry of Great Britain. I assert, that the slaves of South Carolina are better furnished with the ministry of the Gospel than the entire population of the city of New-York. I assert, that the Christian church in South Carolina embraces a larger proportion of her slave population than the church in Maine does of her white population. And my assertions, I may perhaps be permitted without vanity to say, are as good as George Thompson's; and when *proved* they are a great deal better than *his assertions*. Now, then, for the proof.

Take five millions of Roman Catholics in Ireland, destitute of the Bible. Have they excited Mr. Thompson's commiseration? Has he pleaded for them? Does their existence in the heart of the British empire, invalidate all her claims to benevolence, asserted in her wide spread missionary enterprise for the "conversion of the world?" He has ceased to plead for Ireland. Why? From political considerations. The peace of the country demanded it. Christian duty has been determined by the circum-

stances of the case. Now, while Catholic Ireland is properly destitute of the Bible, the slaves of South Carolina, to a great extent, receive the pure word by oral instruction; and none, so far as I know, are debarred from religious instruction. Will Mr. Thompson go to "London, Birmingham, or Hackney," and plead for Catholic Ireland? No. He will go there to abuse and vilify our country, and his countrymen who refused to join him in vilifying it before an American audience in the city of New-York. And by what rule of morality can he condemn us, which will not apply to his own condemnation on the other side of the Atlantic.

A comparison may be easily made between the religious condition of South Carolina and the city of New-York, so far as the Gospel ministry is concerned. With a population, at the present time, but little short of 300,000, New-York has not 200 ministers of every class. With a population of 528,000, black and white, South Carolina has more than 500 ministers of all denominations.\*

Every minister here is a preacher to the slaves. They enjoy the benefits of his ministry in common with the masters. When the Sabbath arrives to the master, it

\* According to the latest documents that I can command, which consist of reports of the several denominations, in no case more than two years old, I make the following results for South Carolina:

Baptists—Ministers,	156.
Licentiates,	70.
Methodists, connected with Conference,	87.
Presbyterian—Ministers,	64.
Licentiates,	20.
Epiacopalian—Ministers,	44.
Lutheran—Ministers,	12.
Licentiates,	8.
Covenanters—Ministers,	1.
Associate Reformed,—Ministers,	9.
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Whole number,	471.

There are some others in the regular ministry, not here enumerated, besides numerous local preachers of the Methodist denomination, and many others of the Baptist. And some of these, although not reported in their minutes are among their most efficient ministers. Reconning all these, the Methodist and Baptist preachers alone would probably number little less than 500.

Churches of all denominations in the city of New-York, according to Williams' Register for 1836, are 146. The number of officiating minis-

comes also to the slave. Wherever masters enjoy a Gospel ministry, their slaves enjoy the ministry. Usually, and especially in the towns, they go to the same church, and listen to the same Gospel.

In attempting a comparison of the white population of Maine with the slaves of South Carolina, as they are represented in the Christian church, I will take for Maine a statement made not long since, Mr. Editor, in your paper, in which it was supposed the whole number of communicants was 60,000. I will state the present number of inhabitants at 420,000, which is probably within the truth, and thus give the proportion of church members in Maine as *one seventh* of the whole. The present number of slaves in South Carolina is supposed to be near 264,000—of these, 45,000, more than *one sixth* of the whole, are reputable members of the Christian church. Could these, and all the necessary facts in the case, be stated and read, and carefully considered, I would, without a single throb of anxiety, leave George Thompson, and his statements, and the whole cause, in the hands of New England men. But bold assertions often repeated, and uncontradicted, often are made to pass for truth, and thus enlist the spirit of benevolence in enterprises, which are subversive of its objects.

In the face of these facts, Mr. Thompson told his audience that he stood before them as the “advocate of mothers, of brothers, of sisters, deprived of Sabbaths, denied the Bible, shut out from Gospel privileges.” And standing up in an assembly of American citizens, this same man, in the same speech, and in the uttering of these very falsehoods, applied the following horrible imprecation to himself, “Let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I am ever capa-

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ters is supposed to be about equal to the number of churches. There are supernumeraries in some of the churches to balance the vacancies in others. Add 34 to 146 and you will have 180. This number will, no doubt, include all the acting clergymen in the city, embracing city missionaries, and secretaries of benevolent societies, whose labors are but partially bestowed on the city. The census of 1835, makes the whole population of New-York 270,000. It cannot now be much less than 300,000.

ble of misrepresenting or maligning her (America) or of sowing the seeds of animosity among her inhabitants."

The charity that "hopeth *all things*" seeks to admit the possibility that he knew not what he did. Had he landed in Charleston instead of New-York, and sought the truth, instead of "misrepresenting and maligning our country, and sowing the seeds of animosity among her inhabitants," he would have been politely received and hospitably entertained by the slaveholder; he might have ascertained the facts in the case, he might have said any thing in Christian simplicity and plainness to the slaveholder himself, and I venture to say, he would have made a very different speech in the city of New-York. Whatever opinion he might have retained on the subject of slavery, his awful imprecation would have been found in connection with a *very different statement of facts*.

I do not think the people of the South are unfriendly to the freedom of the press or of speech, even on the subject of slavery. It is conversed upon here with great freedom, "The omnipotence of slavery has no torpedo power to strike dumb the ministers of religion" here. I have never heard more faithful preaching any where than I have heard in southern pulpits on the duties of the master, and in presence of both masters and slaves. I think southern ministers preach on this subject after the example of Christ and his apostles, and as they would have preached in similar circumstances.

No man here regards the circumstances, under which the incendiary pamphlets were arrested at Charleston, other than as extraordinary, and demanding prompt and decisive measures. Put a man's life in immediate jeopardy, or excite him even to a false apprehension of fatal danger, especially involve his wife and children in that danger—and he will make his own laws. You cannot prevent it. Who can control a popular excitement? One man may originate it, or perhaps prevent it. But when awakened, what power can control it?

Much has been said of the hard case of Mr. Dresser, who is declared to be, as I have no doubt he is, a worthy young man. But, without pronouncing war on his judges or accusers, he certainly was very imprudent, and might

have expected more cause to complain than he has expressed. Taking his own very honest account of the matter, is there any evidence, or any reason to believe, he would have fared better, under similar circumstances, in the hands of an excited community in New-York, or any northern state, in the hands of any class of men. I undertake to say that a prudent man would not have done, *under the time and circumstances*, as he did. It is my duty as a minister to address the Gospel to the slaves of my congregation as well as to their masters, and I do it. If any man does better, and accomplishes more, I rejoice at it. But I have "so learned Christ," as to regard prudence, as well as fearlessness, an important qualification for the Gospel ministry. I would not carry a torch in my hand to extinguish the flames on my neighbor's house: I am taught too by high authority, sometimes to "keep my mouth as with a bridle, and to hold my tongue, even from good."

I have now attempted to call the attention of your readers to the *issue* of this controversy, to show that if prosecuted as it has been, and continues to be, it must necessarily terminate in a formal disruption of the national union, or in an inveterate enmity no less to be dreaded, and I have endeavored also to lead their minds on the track of abundant evidence that the abolitionists for themselves, even now, distinctly **MAKE THIS ISSUE**. Their whole course of proceeding has no other direction. It injures the slave, it rivets his fetters, it breaks up the union. Let this once be effected, and what then? The first step will be to expel 182,000 free blacks from the slaveholding states. They will be quartered upon you, and claim your benevolence, and you must take care of them. Then measures must be taken to bring the slaves into a subjection, which shall secure the public safety. Fear of the slave will never give him his freedom. Then the abolitionist will be called to see what he has done "regardless of consequences." Every measure he pursues will embitter the enmity of opposing states. Eternal hatred will be engendered and taught in the nursery, drawn by the infant from the mother's breast, and instilled upon the mind of the youth in the first lessons of the

father. "Carthago delenda est"—extermination to the rival state, would be written on the standards of a northern, and of a southern confederacy. And "the sword, once drawn," when will it be sheathed? "Never," says an eminent organ of abolitionism, until "victory, entire victory is ours or theirs." This, intended by the excellent author as a rhetorical figure, will prove an awful reality, and abolitionists will be compelled to say, "This is our work." They did not mean it *all*. But it is one of the necessary "*consequences*" of which they are now "*regardless*."

## LETTER IX.

TO THE REV. PROFESSOR SMYTH, OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

*Dear Sir*,—Several communications published over your signature in the Mirror of April and May last, headed by my name as a text, have appeared to me, to demand a public notice and correction.

You have called in question the validity of my arguments, and the correctness of my conclusions on the points embraced in "*the issue*." I owe it, therefore, to myself to review and approve my positions, or confess my error. Then I owe it to you to communicate the result of this examination, because your general candor assures me that your mind is still open to the force of truth. Finally, it is due to that portion of the public, who are enquirers on the subject in discussion, and who may therefore be influenced by what you and I have written.

You have not questioned the numerical correctness of the religious statistics embraced in *the issue* respecting the slave population of South Carolina, but you attempt to show that they are "*utterly valueless*," as proof of the religious privileges and improvement of the slaves. I expect to convince you that you have utterly failed to make out your case, and I hope also, by the force of additional testimony, to procure your candid acknowledgement of your error. My letters to our esteemed brother McKeen were addressed to him through the press, because I frequently received from the North inquiries similar to those made by him, and because I thought the subject required that my answers should be public.

"The issue" was the substance of an answer to several private letters received principally from abolitionists, who urged upon my consideration the "tremendous re-

sponsibility" I had incurred by attempting, in those letters, to check the abolition cause. *My views* of "responsibility" were presented in "the issue," and when thus embodied, I felt it my duty to present them to the public, that they might be seen by others, whose opinions I might wish to influence, or to whom I might desire to vindicate my own.

You thus perceive that I have not been entirely a volunteer in connecting my name with the subject of slavery, on which hardly any man, who speaks at this day, can hope to make himself understood, or to be candidly heard; on which too, constituted as we are, it is not easy for any man to continue to speak with candor and impartiality.

In what I now propose to say, it will be my steady endeavor to preserve the *manner* which I would approve in others. If in this I should fail, I shall regret it with as much pain as it can cause yourself or others.

But proceeding to consider your arguments, I wish to relieve one point,—the only one, I believe; on which you complain of the *spirit* of "the issue." I pronounced the resolution of Mr. Thompson, which was approved by the Anti-Slavery Society at their anniversary in May of last year, *false*. "*False in point of fact*,"—I said, and still I say, To pronounce a *man* false, is not only discourteous, but indecorous, rude. But to pronounce his *statements* false in point of fact, is neither. It does not necessarily implicate his moral character, and attaches blame to him only in proportion to his neglect of means to ascertain the truth. This is what I have done and no more. This is what I have proved. The degree of guilt to be attached to those, who put forth this resolution, and those who justify it, I leave to others to determine. In connection with Mr. Thompson's name, I did indeed omit the last part of the assertion expressed by the words—"in point of fact"—but these words were intended and expected to be understood after having been once repeated. I moreover expressly declined to apply the charge of falsehood even to Mr. Thompson, while "charity that hopeth all things" could devise a way to avoid it. With this explanation, I hope that particular point will be relieved.

In proof that my statistics are "utterly valueless" you adduce one class of evidence from three sources,—from Dr. Nelson, the Synod of Kentucky, and the Hon. J. G. Birney. And what do these witnesses testify? Dr. Nelson tells what he has seen in Missouri; the Synod speaks of Kentucky; and Mr. Birney, who is "incapable of falsehood," approved and voted for Mr. Thompson's resolution.

So far as the two first witnesses are concerned, I have only to say, that as I have said nothing of Missouri or Kentucky, the evidence is not in point and cannot be admitted. If I have sinned in this matter, the proof lies in South Carolina, and I decline a trial on facts brought from Kentucky or Missouri. If cited for trial *there*, I shall prove an *alibi*.

Let it be noticed that I am not here called upon to dissent from these respectable witnesses in the matter of their testimony, nor to oppose their views. Standing in their places, perhaps I should have seen and spoken as they have. I only say, that what they saw and testified to, in Kentucky and Missouri, they did not see in South Carolina. I might have rashly extended my assertion over states I knew nothing of, and so have come within the compass of your proofs,—*but I have not done it*. I hope, therefore, you will plainly perceive that while you have admitted my arithmetic to be correct, your *logic* is entirely defective. But it may be said, the Synod *infer* that what is true in Kentucky on this matter must pervade the system every where else. This may do for an *inference* in the absence of *facts*. They subvert it, as I will presently show.

I have now only to dispose of Mr. Birney. "*He was there*," and "voted for the resolution." And who is Mr. Birney? He is "an honorable man"—but here he is placed as a witness on the stand. In this attitude, he is not privileged above other witnesses. I certainly cannot yield to his "high standing," the evidence of my senses, nor my own claim to equal credit. But as the supporter of the resolution in question, Mr. Birney is placed on the same ground with Mr. Thompson, neither of whom, perhaps, were ever in South Carolina. They are, therefore,

equally on trial for their veracity, which must abide the truth or falsehood of the resolution. They are both charged as criminals. You and your readers must judge in the sequel, how far they are entitled to credit.

There are two other witnesses introduced by you to prove that my statements are "utterly valueless"—Mr. W. B. Seabrook, and Mr. Thomas S. Clay. Mr. Clay is offered to your readers as a clergyman, who, in a pamphlet published on the subject, has "urged upon the southern community the duty of giving religious instruction to slaves." You will doubtless be gratified to learn that Mr. Clay is *not a clergyman* urging their duty upon *others*, but himself a large planter, stating in his pamphlet *what he is doing on his own plantation*. You will, therefore, allow me to refer you to a re-perusal of Mr. Clay's pamphlet as a detail of the religious instruction of slaves on one plantation at least. This too, you may receive as a specimen in whole or in part, of what is done on many others. If there are but few as faithful and thorough as Mr. Clay, still there are many prosecuting a similar plan.

Mr. Seabrook is introduced as a strong witness to be relied on. He has "examined these plans in detail," and the Agricultural Society of St. Johns, Colleton, has published his Essay. On this ground you introduce Mr. Seabrook, and his associates of the Agricultural Society. You say with apparent complacency; "upon the testimony of these witnesses, we may surely rely with confidence; they testify to what *they know*." That you may see what rules of evidence you have applied in the premises, I shall quote *entire* your extract from Mr. Seabrook, and then hold up to your consideration some of the astounding conclusions you have asked your readers to admit in the argument.

The extract says:—"That the slaveholder and his family should officiate as teachers, is so palpably objectionable, if it were practicable, in every light in which the suggestion can be viewed, that I need only observe, when the scene shall be exhibited of the people of South Carolina, tri-daily according to Mr. Clay, or weekly as recommended by the Committee of Synod, reading and explaining the Bible, and conversing with their servants

"on the subject of the soul's immortality, the reign of fanaticism and misrule will have commenced."

"I object totally, however, for the general reasons already advanced, and for others that will readily suggest themselves, to the "preacher adapting a part of every sermon to their intellectual wants," or "to the giving out one or two lines of a hymn that they may join in the exercises." This is a device of the levellers, and too heterodox for the present state of public opinion."

"Another mode of communicating religious information to the slaves, upon which Mr. Clay comments is, what he terms domestic, to be conducted by the resident planter and his family. This mode must have been suggested to Mr. Clay, by a Tappanist. If friendly to the policy and perpetuity of our institutions, it could not have been the fruit of his own reflections."

Now, on this extract, which you are pleased to term "evidence," you call on your readers to believe. "1st. That the preaching which the slaves of South Carolina hear in common with their masters, is not adapted to their intellectual wants, and that the present state of public opinion will not tolerate its being made so." I am sure, sir, you will allow the humblest of your readers to pause at the chasm between the premises, and your conclusion. He searches in vain for any such "evidence" in the extract. The writer of the Essay does indeed *for himself* "object totally to the preacher adapting a part of every sermon to their (the slaves') intellectual wants, or to the giving out one or two lines of the hymn, that they may join in the exercises." Yet in all this, there is no allusion to what actually *is done*, and therefore, it furnishes no "evidence" in point. What, then, *is actually done?* On Mr. Clay's plantation precisely *that* is done, to which this witness objects. The same is done on many plantations in South Carolina, and often by most of the ministers, of all denominations with whom I am acquainted.

On the "evidence" furnished in this extract, you ask your readers to believe, 2dly; *That the reading and explaining the Bible to the slaves in public meetings by the slaveholder and his family, is as yet unknown?*" This conclusion is of course predicated on the first paragraph in

the extract. The writer there says :—"it is palpably objectionable that the slaveholder and his family should officiate as teachers to the slaves." Where does he say it is a thing "*as yet unknown?*" No where. Nothing like it. The Essay opposes Mr. Clay's plan, which is carried into effect by himself, and by many planters in South Carolina. And this is taken for "evidence" that the thing, which it opposes, has no existence. I am quite sure, Sir, that you could not have had the common rules of evidence before you when you drew these conclusions, and you will not insist that your readers should admit them.

What, then, have you shown by this extract? You have shown precisely what I have urged before, that there is a *difference of opinion* among intelligent men of the South, who are themselves the slave owners, and who are, therefore, the only competent persons to dispose of the subject. What I ask is, that you will leave the argument to be conducted *here*; that you will not embarrass it by awaking prejudices and exciting jealousies unnecessarily, and without any possible compensation.

Mr. Seabrook is a distinguished citizen of South Carolina, and his opinions are worthy of high consideration. Let them have the influence they deserve. I will furnish the opinions of gentlemen equally excellent, who differ from him on the subject of giving religious instruction to the slaves. Let them also have their due influence. But in candor you must not adduce the *opinions* of Mr. Seabrook or any other man, (perhaps too carelessly expressed) as deliberate and sworn testimony. I am sure Mr. Seabrook, would not be willing to have his veracity tried by the attitude you have assigned to him. I have no doubt the religious instruction of our slave population will be permitted to go on, notwithstanding the partial check it has received by the action of the abolitionists. I believe, every real philanthropist at the South will be led to adopt the true distinctions, and unite as well in this most benevolent effort to elevate and save *our own heathen*, as to oppose fanaticism in all its forms.

Finally, you introduce the testimony of the Rev. C. C. Jones. Mr. Jones is a member of our Synod, a young

man of commanding talents and education, a large slave owner, who has declined the highest places in our church, to give himself entirely to the religious instruction of the slave population. He is a man of remarkable ingenuousness and candor, of great zeal in his objects, yet without extravagance. His testimony, therefore, is of the highest value; "*he testifies what he knows.*" You quote him as follows:—"It is a solemn fact, which we must not conceal, that their (*the slaves'*) private and public religious instruction forms no part of the aim of the owners generally." That is true. And allow me to say, it seems to me singular that an honest mind seeking for truth should find a necessary discrepancy between this testimony and mine. "*Generally*" the religious instruction of the slaves forms no part of the *aim* of the owners. Few but *religious men*, and *not always* they, make it their *aim* to instruct their slaves. Still *many* religious men do it, as Mr. Jones tells you elsewhere, and many irreligious men *permit* it, who do not make it their *aim* and are *criminally negligent* of their duty. Is the phraseology of Mr. Jones remarkable when employed in awakening the community to a much neglected duty? I think a review of this testimony will force you to confess, that although you may not be behind Mr. Jones in zeal for the welfare of the slaves, you have failed to practice his ingenuousness.

Again, you quote from Mr. Jones,—"The number of professors of religion (among the slaves) is small, that can present a correct view of the plan of salvation. True religion, they are greatly inclined to place in professions, in forms, and ordinances; and true conversion in dreams, visions, trances, and voices, and these they offer to church sessions as evidences of conversion. Sometimes principles of conduct are adopted by church members at so much variance with the Gospel that the grace of God is turned into lasciviousness. No man knows the extent of their ignorance on the subject of religion, until he for himself makes special investigation."

Is this an extraordinary picture in reference to the ignorant portions of the church, wherever found? And must their ignorance and mental degradation, merely, exclude them from the kingdom of heaven? Persons with-

out mental culture or social religious instruction, generally, do not readily give a full and "correct view of the plan of salvation," although they may give credible evidence of piety, and such persons every where are "greatly inclined to place true religion in forms and ordinances, and professions; and true conversion in dreams, visions," &c. It is not wonderful that there should "sometimes" be found among them even self deceivers, who "turn the grace of God into lasciviousness." This deplorable state of things, like much else among more favored members, is chargeable to our criminal neglect, and is it competent or fair to pervert the ardent effort of Mr. Jones to awaken the church to greater fidelity to the blacks, into the means of checking that very effort?

That you may feel the force of Mr. Jones' testimony *on the particular point*, to which you have wrested his appeal, I will give you his opinion as expressed to me in a letter now before me. "*As to the evidence of piety, says he, among the negroes in connection with the churches, candidly, when I consider the circumstances, I have reason to hope for as many of them, as of any other class of persons that I have been as intimately acquainted with.*"

Mr. Jones, in his missionary report for Liberty county, Georgia, says:—"In this district, where it is said there are 1500 persons suitable for Sunday school instruction, there are five schools, twenty-five teachers, and 250 scholars. Ten or twelve plantations have received from their owners, during the last year, religious instruction to a greater or less extent. A gentleman in this county gave fifty dollars for the instruction of the children on a plantation under his care, and another had service twice a week for his people half the year for which he paid a regular minister of the Gospel. Several individuals have authorized the employment of a suitable man for the instruction of their plantations, six or eight in number. They offer \$400 a year and board. The proper course of action has been adopted. Our brethren have not said, we are willing to have our people instructed, and then testified the amount of that willingness by *doing nothing*. But they have said, 'we are willing and anxious to have our people instructed, and to a suitable man we will give

\$400 a year and board.' The county, as far as the influence of the church extends, is divided into *Districts*, in each of which there is one or more colored watchmen and a white male member of the church. This white male member is required to keep a correct list of the colored members in his District ; to receive reports from the colored watchmen of the conduct and standing of the members once a month or once in two months ; to receive application for instruction, or for admission to the church ; to notice cases for discipline, and at stated intervals make a general report to the Session. He is also required to hold occasional meetings with the colored members in his district. In addition to this arrangement, the church annually appoints a responsible colored man to exercise a general supervision over the colored members ; to act also as an exhorter ; to solemnize their marriages, and to perform their funeral services, and to report regularly to the church. As an evidence of the increase of feeling and effort on the subject of the religious instruction of the colored population, we state that more has been published and circulated on the general subject within the last two years, (1833-4) than in ten or twenty years preceding, so far as our information extends."

From Savannah River a Missionary writes—"I visit eighteen plantations every two weeks ; preach twice or thrice on the Sabbath. The owners have built three good churches at their own expense, all framed ; 290 members have been added, and about 400 children are instructed every week."

"Some young men of the Baptist connection in Georgia, now in a course of theological study, expect to spend their lives in this field."

In the Methodist church in South Carolina and Georgia, "there are about *twelve or fifteen* Missionaries in the field, and they stand prepared to enlarge that number indefinitely."

The Diocese of South Carolina is not behind in this work. Rev. J. R. Walker, of Beaufort, says :—"There are now (1833) in my church fifty-seven colored communicants, upon the whole well doing and consistent, and in

the Sunday school two hundred and thirty-four, who regularly attend."

Will you hear another witness? A few weeks ago, I called on a planter in my neighborhood early in the morning. As I approached the house, the family were assembling for prayer. I took my seat unobserved on the door step, unwilling to interrupt them or to be called on to lead in their devotions. After a pause of minutes the master says—"where is Cato?" "He is gone to the lot,"—was the reply. "We shall wait until Cato comes,"—said the slaveholder. All was silence for the space of five or ten minutes when a little black boy passed in, and Cato was there. The exercises proceeded. The planter read the Bible, and explained it in a familiar manner to his slaves, asked them questions, sung an hymn, giving out the lines that they might join in the exercise. They then all knelt together in prayer. Is this a singular scene? By no means. I can travel with you in the circle of my acquaintance in South Carolina, and introduce you to a similar scene every morning of every day in the year.

I heard the voice of prayer and praise as I passed at evening the negro cabins on a rich man's plantation. I stepped aside, and found the slaves in their respective families attending, with apparent zeal, their family worship. Is this singular? By no means. I can travel with you, and introduce you to a similar scene every evening of every day in the year.

Believe me, sir, you are wrong, and I will furnish further proof of it presently.

## LETTER X.

REV. PROFESSOR SMYTH:

*Dear Sir*,—Besides the witnesses, which I have already examined, furnished by you to prove my statements “utterly valueless,” you have introduced one other—*the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia*. You quote from a Report of their Committee as follows:—

“The influence of the negroes upon the moral and religious interests of the whites is destructive in the extreme. We cannot go into special detail. It is unnecessary. We make our appeal to universal experience. We are chained to a putrid carcase; it sickens and destroys us. We have a millstone hanging about the neck of our society to sink us deep in the sea of vice. Our children are corrupting from their infancy; nor can we prevent it. Many an anxious parent, like the missionary in foreign lands, wishes that his children could be brought up beyond the reach of the corrupting influence of depraved heathen. Nor is this influence confined to mere childhood. If that were all, it would be tremendous. But it follows us into youth, into manhood, into old age.”

“And when we come directly in contact with their depravity in *the management of them*, then come temptations, and provocations, and trials that unsearchable grace only can enable us to endure. In all our intercourse with them, we are undergoing a process of intellectual and moral deterioration, and it requires a most superhuman effort to maintain a high standing either for intelligence or piety.”

You come now, sir, with high authority. The Synod look upon, and the members occupy, the same field embraced in my statements. I myself am a member of that

Synod, was present when that Report was adopted, and voted for it. If, therefore, it is fairly in contradiction to my statements, it must prevail, since besides my own, it unites the testimony of our entire church. If on the other hand, I show you that I am in entire harmony with myself and my Synod, your candor will acquit me, and, in that acquittal, admit the force of my former statements.

The religious instruction of the slaves, which had, for many years, engaged the devoted attention of individuals, had also been annually before the Synod as a standing subject of deep interest and duty. In 1833, it was brought up by this Report of a Committee, previously appointed. The earnest object of the Synod was to awaken the public attention to a consideration of duty in respect to the spiritual ignorance, destitution and wants of the slave population. Under these circumstances, the Report was prepared. It commences with the proposition, "That there is a numerous and important class of persons—we may say—a *distinct race* of people, within our bounds, in perishing need of the Gospel, accessible, and wholly dependant upon us, to whom we have not imparted it, at least in *such measure* as their necessities and our duty require." Next, it proceeds to show that the slaves are "destitute of the *privileges* of the Gospel,"—that is, they have not a *suitable* ministry, accommodations, encouragements, &c. It then sets forth "our duty to these heathen among ourselves." "We do not deny, says the Report, that many enjoy the means of grace, that there are a large number of professing Christians among them—but it is, at best, a day of small things: and although our assertion is abroad, we believe that in general it will be found to be correct." Such is the Report in its positions and plans.

Now, sir, to try that Report in its harmony with my statements, take the 100,000 souls in the city of New-York, said to be "destitute of the *privileges* of the Gospel," a large portion of whom, perhaps can neither read nor write. Let the Synod of New York attempt to set forth *their* destitution, ignorance and perishing condition, and the "duty of the church to these heathen among themselves." Would not the general language of our Re-

port be applicable? And yet they are not absolutely "deprived of the means of grace," and some among them may betray a spirit of piety, struggling through their ignorance, superstitions, and popish bondage.

Let, now, this Report be taken by a Temperance Society, and would they not employ all its essential features, in speaking of the whole class of drunkards, including all moderate drinkers, many of whom are in the church? In some respects, also, in which the language of the Report has been asserted to conflict with my statements, it will apply with equal truth to our *white* population in general. *They*, to an alarming extent, are destitute of a suitable, "regular ministry,"—"of sufficient room in churches for their accommodation,"—and "of free access to the Scriptures," by ability to read,—the *very particulars*, in which the Report represents the negroes as "destitute of the privileges of the Gospel."

But it is objected that I have said there are 45,000 "*credible*" professors of religion among the slaves of South Carolina. By "*credible*," I understand those who are in *regular standing* in the church of Christ. But my charity judges the religious character of their *ignorance*, which connects often, with their religious experience,—"*dreams, visions, &c.*" "There are diversities of operation but the same spirit."

It seems, then, that the Report is not *necessarily contradictory* to my statements. As I have said before, it is a view of what *we have done* compared with *duty*. My statements are a view of what *we have done* compared with *nothing*. The object of one was to press that *duty* where it rested; the other to correct foreign misapprehensions. When fairly expounded, both are true in point of facts, and harmonious with each other.

To show that the object of this Report as now explained was prominent in the attention of the Synod, and progressive in accomplishment, I will give you brief extracts from the Narratives of the state of religion for three successive years. In 1833, the Synod in their Narrative say,—"*We rejoice to find that increasing attention is paid to it (the religious instruction of negroes) on the part of many, who are largely interested as owners in this class*

of our population, and that there is an increasing disposition, on their part, to receive and invite instruction for these heathen in our own land." In 1834, the Narrative says:—"Increasing efforts have been made, especially within the bounds of the Presbytery of Georgia, to impart religious instruction to the negroes." In 1835, the Synod say in their Narrative,—"Even the religious instruction of our slave population, entirely suspended in some parts of the country through the lamented interference of the abolition fanatics, has proceeded with almost unabated diligence and steadiness of purpose through the length and breadth of our Synod." It seems, then, by the testimony of Synod that slave instruction is a subject of general and increasing attention throughout our churches.

The perusal of this Report of Synod, and also Mr. Jones's Report on the moral and religious condition of the colored population must have convinced you that we enjoy at the South "*liberty of speech and of the press*"—that we are not afraid to tell men their duty even on the subject of slavery,—that we *can* do it,—that we *do* it. That *you* cannot come here and do it, must not, cannot surprise you. The wonder is that *you* are not satisfied that others are permitted to do it.

The Report of that committee has been published in newspapers and pamphlets, and extensively circulated. A document of similar directness and energy on the same subject was also published in 1833 by Mr. Jones. Both of these had a wide circulation and exerted a great influence. Several others of like character have been published by Presbyteries and individuals with happy effect.

Now, my dear sir, while all this has been doing at the South, you will be surprised to hear that there are men, who have been directly employed in subverting this whole scheme of practical benevolence. You will be shocked to know, that while this very Report was silently producing its effect on the public mind, and working a great and salutary change, other hands were employed in an open enterprise to paralyze its influence. Your benevolence, I am assured, will be moved at this recital, and your indignation will burn to know and expose to public reprobation

those miserable men. I seem to hear you say,—“where are the wretches ?”

“*Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.*”

“*Thou art the man.*” The abolitionists have done this ; with the best of motives, doubtless, and therefore innocently ;—in ignorance, and therefore pardonable. But now they KNOW.

Thus, sir, in an examination of your proofs adduced to show my statements “utterly valueless,” have I not fairly pinned the *label* on *your proofs*? I have shown that the testimony of Dr. Nelson and the Synod of Kentucky relate to a different matter, except by inference, and that inference is subverted by facts. They are like the witness, who saw a murder, but it was not the *murder charged*. Mr. Clay, summoned to your aid as a clergyman, comes up in the character of a Georgia planter, and testifies point blank against you. Mr. Seabrook is next called. I have shown that you adduce his assumed *doctrines and opinions* and have substituted them for testimony to facts. Mr. Jones’ testimony, adduced by you, I have shown to be partial in its application, and powerless in aid of your argument—while I have on the other hand, brought his direct testimony in point to support my statements. Mr. Birney, classified in this arrangement with Mr. Thompson, rises or falls with the truth or falsehood of the resolution. The Report of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia has been shown, I trust, to be sufficiently in harmony with my statements, which I hope you are now satisfied are strictly correct.

## LETTER XI.

REV. PROFESSOR SMYTH:

Dear Sir,—The arguments employed in your first communication, based on the truth of my statements, are shown to have been used ironically, by your subsequent attempt to invalidate those statements. If I have succeeded, as I think I have, in maintaining my ground, your first positions are redeemed from derision, and again demand serious consideration. You there argue “that 45,000 religious slaves in South Carolina must be fitted for freedom, and surely their controlling influence on the others must render it safe for all of them to be admitted to that boon.” Admit all you ask—what then? You have proved that the slaves are fitted for freedom—proved it to *yourself*—proved it, if you please, to *me*,—but you have *not* proved it to *their masters*. *That proof* must come from the “*Maine Anti-Slavery Society*” in the practical application of their noble resolution to “*liberate all their opponents will educate*.” My complaint against you is, that to every moral effect, the action of the abolitionists only embarrasses the subject, and prevents, or defers their freedom. You may now dispose of your argument as you think will best relieve your difficulty.

If you can influence the owners to give freedom to their religious slaves, I certainly will be the last man to object. I think many of them would, under suitable circumstances, make good free men. Many are suitably educated for freedom now, and all with proper attention, might perhaps be so educated in a short time. But how will you effect their freedom? I know of only three ways, in which it can be done. First, by purchase. But slaves are now

held at a very high price, and I greatly fear that the benevolence of the Maine Anti-Slavery Society, as expressed in their noble resolution, is in advance of their funds. Another way to free the negroes is to make open war upon the masters, and gain for them liberty in a fair fight. This, I presume, is not seriously contemplated by the abolitionists generally, although some have imprudently declared their readiness for it. The last, and *only* practicable method is to induce the holders to give freedom to their slaves. Now, to this end, the whole action of the Anti-Slavery Society is directly opposed. Every thing you have done has prejudiced this object. If you had been the slaves' worst enemies, you could have done no more. I doubt whether the history of this whole controversy can furnish one instance, in which the abolitionists have gained to their cause one of the advocates of slavery. Until this is done, nothing effective is done. On the contrary, you have confirmed thousands of slaveholders in their reputed errors.

The abolitionists seem to me not to be satisfied with what they *can* do. They must see what they can *not* do. I knew a man once, who took for his motto, "*Some things can be done as well as others.*" With this he set out to see how far he could *leap*. This might have done very well, but he could never be satisfied until he proved how far he could *not* leap. He was never satisfied till he broke his neck!

We *can*, my dear sir, do much for the benefit of the slave. Let us do what we *can*, and not prevent all the good which is practicable, by assuming that *every thing* is *now* practicable, or practicable by *us*, which we may think desirable to be done, or believe to be right in itself. St. Paul even said, "all things are lawful for me, but all thing are not expedient." That which is lawful is not always expedient, and that which is right is not always practicable. Whatever is wrong is inexpedient; but that which is right is not always expedient. It is right that I shbould have my horse which has been stolen from me, but it may not be expedient for me to assert that right while the thief is holding a loaded pistol at my head. It is right that the thief should be punished, but not expe-

dient for me to attempt the punishment in the premises. If not expedient it is not right, for my life is of more value to me and my family than my horse. Thus, my dear sir, if you will forbear, and endeavor by kindness to gain access and do good to the master and the slave, you may live to receive the blessing of both, but by taking the *abolition leap*, you place yourself beyond the power to benefit either.

Your whole course of action defeats the professed object, to relieve the slave. It rivets his setters, abridges his privileges, increases his burdens. It unites the southern emancipationists with all others against them. The practical effect is to alienate the North and South, and to divide the Union. This, which is evidently the practical issue, is now the avowed object of many.

This is inevitable in the prosecution of your plans. The whole effect is a political one, exciting the worst passions, and the most inveterate jealousies, leading to disunion. You say it *ought not* to produce such results. We see, however, it does, it will, it must. In effect, it simply demands a reconsideration of the original compact, by renewing one of the most vexing questions settled in the compromise. The South is united in support of their own institutions. The abolitionists are united against them. The contest now is to gain the great mass of the people at the North, intelligent and patriotic, who have hitherto opposed these mad schemes. They will turn the scale. If they maintain their ground, all may yet be quiet. But let the abolitionist gain them, and the ground will be changed. The line will be drawn from east to west, and the contest will be between the North and the South.

Such, sir, is "THE ISSUE." And now, if, as some say, it "deserves little regard,"—if it "cannot have much influence on the well informed,"—if it "betrays great ignorance of the true ground of controversy,"—if it "gives the religious statistics of South Carolina, the city of New-York and of Maine to prove that the slavery of the South involves no sin,"—if it "is the apologist of slavery, or of mobs and violent acts of lawless men;—then, indeed, I "know not what spirit I am off," nor what I affirm. But

if "*the issue*" shows the regular and necessary result of the measures now pursued by the abolitionists; if the necessary action of those measures is to curse the slave with a heavier bondage, and to throw us back into the original elements of dissevered states, with a spirit of bitterness and jealousy that shall beget eternal enmity,—if this be its point, then "*the issue*" is precisely what I intended it should be;—it presents the TRUE ISSUE to the deliberate consideration of those who are now urged to join the abolition cause; it presents the naked question, "*the true ground of controversy*" between the abolitionists and their opposers, and will be contemplated by few without emotion.

Let none be so blind as to suppose that if the abolition cause, as now made, goes down, the fetters of the slave are irreversibly rivetted. The reverse is the fact. Nothing but the defeat of the abolitionists can prevent the worst of evils to the slave. The real friends of the slaves are at the South. *Here*, the argument must be made. *Here, by consent of the master*, the slave must be freed, if freed at all. When that, which is considered by the slaveholders a piratical crusade against their property, shall cease at the North, then the argument will be revived at the South, in our halls of legislation, and by slaveholders themselves. And the success of the argument *here* must give freedom to the slave, or he is irreversibly a slave, unless the "*figure*" is dropt and the "*sword is drawn*" in reality.

This, sir, is what I fear, what I deprecate, what as a citizen, a parent, a Christian, especially a Christian minister, I will ever oppose with my voice, my influence, my prayers, with my latest breath. This is the *real point* embraced in "*the issue*." If the attitude in which I have endeavored to place that issue, shall lead to the clear apprehension and deliberate consideration of it, I shall not fear a prevalence of the abolition doctrine.

There is, however, one position you have taken in regard to the resolution of the Anti-Slavery Society offered by Mr. Thompson, to which, perhaps you still think I ought to accord my assent. You say, "*the resolution does not by any fair principle of interpretation affirm any thing*

*more than a general fact. But it does affirm that as a general fact, as a body, the slaves in this Christian land are left to perish without the Bible and the ministry of the Gospel. And I ask if we are not fully borne out in this statement by the testimony of the Synod of Kentucky."*

If a general fact may thus be stated, and even if this could be fairly shown to be one of them, still I ask, in my turn, if it becomes the Anti-Slavery Society, at such a time, and on such a subject, when engaged in a warm contest with the South, to speak thus wide of the exceptions in the case?

Suppose we should hold a meeting here and Resolve,—“that the practice of suffering one sixth part of the white population of the North to perish destitute of the ministry of the Gospel is inconsistent with the profession of zeal for the conversion of the world,”—would not the general fact be numerically correct? Undoubtedly. But would it be wise? Would it do any good? Would it not be regarded as invidious, sectional, unjust, especially if accompanied with a philippic against the North, full of exaggeration, uttered by a foreigner?

Again, suppose we should form a resolution of like import against the *manufacturing population* of the North, and insist that although they are constitutionally protected, yet the business and employment are wrong *in principle* and must be abandoned. You ask for Scripture authority, as we claim no civil power to interfere. We take the broad and indisputable ground that no man can be at liberty to pursue any business which *necessarily* interferes with moral purity and jeopardizes his salvation or that of those employed in his business. You admit the principle but deny its application, and refer to high Scripture authority. “Tubal Cain was an instructor of every artificer of brass and iron,” and Paul was a maker of tents, &c. We still argue that manufactures are *necessarily* of immoral tendency, and the inmates of those establishments depraved. In proof of this, we introduce *some* Mr. Thompson from Great Britain, who bears his public testimony in *Charleston* to the fact; and documents are introduced from the Synod of Ulster in Ireland to prove that according to their personal observation in their Dis-

strict it is so, and what is true there must be true every where else. Here is the end of the demonstration. We write under Mr. Thompson's argument, Q. E. D. and there is no more to be said. What now are your assurances that in all your manufacturing establishments there are Bible Societies and a stated ministry? The thing is proved. There is the testimony of the Synod of Ulster; and there is Mr. Thompson's speech. You are an interested witness. You live at the North. You were "altogether born in sin," or have lived there "eight or ten years,"—"just long enough to become so familiar with the loathsome features of manfactories, that they cease to offend." All you can say, therefore, only "proves the blinding influence, under which you have been placed." It has a very "blinding influence" to see both sides of a subject.

Or suppose we should hold a great southern convention at Charleston, and adopt a similar resolution in regard to commerce and the 1,000,000 tons of shipping and the 50,000 seamen employed in American ships. The same course of reasoning might be presented on both sides;—but we make out our moral demonstration and require you to seal up your ports, and burn your shipping on your domestic hearths, and take home your sailors. Every family can manufacture its own clothing and articles of domestic use—and as for our cotton, why let England come and get it. She may take care of her own sins in this as well as in her slavery. She is a magnanimous nation and our *mother country* will no doubt do right to all parties. Mr. Thompson says so.

Now, sir, without any collusion, *suppose* all this should *literally* occur. What then? Would not the Yankees say that the South were only jealous of their growing prosperity, that it was simply a traffic opposing spirit. Would they not assign the worst of motives to those who thus should invade their purse strings, and would they not unite as one man, all parties, to put down this dictation? Could there be any other effect than a disastrous one, if such a course were prosecuted, and the South should become united in it? Would you not call it madness, the fruit of wicked and bitter jealousy, envy and revenge? Such is

the effect of the resolution in question of the Anti-Slavery Society and similar operations. They awaken sectional prejudices and unite the South against a northern interference. They are assigned to the worst of motives, and create a reaction in favor of the very system which you aim to overthrow. You shut yourselves out from any further salutary moral influence on the South. You can approach the South *on this subject* no more, and no nearer, and with no more effect than the South could approach the North in the cases just *supposed*, and in reference to the subjects there brought to view. The South is just as much convinced that the action at the North on the subject of slavery is the dictate of unworthy motive, as the North could be, were the opposite cases supposed to literally transpire. Some indeed attribute it to fanaticism, while others pronounce it the effect of envy, jealousy or political ambition.

We often lose much, my dear sir, by resting on one side, and refusing to change our positions. In this way it often happens that good and conscientious men become very inveterate in error. They *know* that they are right, even when in egregious error. This we have seen in men as good, liberal and conscientious as ourselves. And this should always make us extremely jealous of ourselves with a godly jealousy. The same shield may be both brass and iron according to the position from which the witness views it,—one *side* may be brass, the other iron. It may also for the same reason be either opaque or bright. One side may present a sombre bronze, the other a polished mirror dazzling with its brightness. A change of position presents the difference, and of course would entirely change the testimony of a witness respecting the same object. So it may be with the subject of slavery as well as others. I testify to what I have seen. Do any, who have occupied the same position testify differently? We should be slow to condemn one another, for differences for which a reason may be found.

Again, I have been giving testimony to *one class* of facts. There are others, which should not be overlooked in forming an estimate of the real condition of the slave. Here is not a singular exercise of authority without op-

pression, of poverty without suffering, of ignorance without vice. They are all found in this slave country. But what I affirm is, that there is no greater amount of oppression, suffering and vice than exist generally among the extreme poor, and less than are found among the African race in almost all other conditions. You have, in one of your communications, almost as a matter of course, run into the usual strain of declamation against the tears, and sweat, the whips and clanking chains, connected with slavery. I say again they find but limited application here, and within the circle of my personal observation. My most favorable representations refer to the condition of those slaves employed in domestic labors, and those on the smaller plantations. They substantially apply, however, to all within my acquaintance. The greatest abuses are almost always on the larger plantations. Here, as every where, the rich are apt to oppress the poor, and "fall into temptation and a snare and many hurtful lusts, that drown men in destruction and perdition."

## LETTER XII.

REV. PROFESSOR SMYTH:

*Dear Sir,—* Although I have granted your argument going to prove that the religious slaves of South Carolina ought to be "immediately, unconditionally and forever emancipated," in order that I might thus show you some of the difficulties in which you would find yourself involved, still I think there are many objections to your demand, besides the resistance of their owners, which you would meet at the threshold. And although you have made the demand with great confidence, and "without fear of contradiction," I will venture to suggest a few opposing thoughts for your grave consideration.

The general positions, from which your reasonings proceed, may be resolved into these two: First, the slaves have an original, inalienable right to their freedom;—and secondly, in view of other sentiments advanced, you assume that these 45,000 religious slaves are *prepared* for freedom. Some of your principles I entirely reject, and much of your reasoning and conclusions need to be modified.

You say that "liberty is the birth-right of every human being." That is true, but not absolutely. Now I say *dependence* is the birth-right of every human being. Into this state we are all born. Some never recover themselves from it. This dependence is of different degrees. So is liberty. All are not free alike and cannot be, even should the Liberator succeed in destroying all civil governments as "so many conventional expedients to gratify human selfishness, retaliation and power." No state of nature has brought to men full liberty, perfect indepen-

dence of one another. Nor can it. Your principle, as a mere abstraction, is worth nothing. Carry it through the whole theory of governments, and it is an abstraction still. The moment you apply it, it becomes a practical rule, and as such, must be adapted to the constitution of man. If you can *learn* nothing in the *practice* of government, you are driven to the positions of Mr. Garrison, and that is anarchy. Is there no *slavery* there?

There are perhaps 20,000 members of the Christian church in the United States, *yet in the minority*. Can it be possible that these 20,000 of Christ's family on earth, who will reign with him forever, should be unfit to exercise the rights of freemen, the rights to acquire and hold property, to vote, to marry, and give themselves in marriage, to hold public office? None will deny they are as well qualified to exercise all these rights as the slaves generally are. Ought *they* not to be "immediately, unconditionally, and forever emancipated?" By the principles of the Liberator, they ought to be. Who would control a free-born mind? Who, but himself, shall determine *when* he shall exercise his rights? True, an old book says "children obey your parents"—and "let every soul be subject unto the higher powers—whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." But then the same book also says, "servants, obey in all things your masters." But these are antiquated notions in *modern codes*, and are only "so many conventional expedients to gratify human selfishness, retaliation and power." Forgive me, dear sir, for following so far the legitimate consequences of the principles you advocate, or excuse in the advocacy of others. I tremble at the temerity of the times, at the recklessness of men, who have not been wont to throw a loose rein on hazardous and doubtful experiment. Although not old, I am sure I have seen the day when such sentiments in the church in New England would meet with universal execration, and bring down on their advocates any thing but patronage and support.

Again, here are thousands of Christian men in the United States, lately arrived, who are foreigners, not permitted either to hold public office or to vote, and who suf-

fer other disabilities as aliens. Ought *they* not to be "immediately, unconditionally forever emancipated?"—Why should *they* be restrained of their liberty? Why disfranchised? Why, in any respect, under disabilities to acquire or hold property? Are they not *men*, whose "birth-right is liberty?"

Was not Abraham a slaveholder? Were not the chosen people of God extensively, slaveholders? Were not the early Christians, some of them, slaveholders? And ought *they* not "immediately, unconditionally and forever to have emancipated *slaves*?" Ought they not to have been *taught* so to do by those, on whom they depended for instruction in duty? Yet is it not quite singular that they *were taught* how to treat their slaves, and were *not taught* to emancipate them "immediately." If it be said that the sabbatical year and the jubilee brought them their freedom, this very argument proves the *existence* of slavery, and it also proves that "*immediate emancipation*" WAS NOT THE TRUE DOCTRINE. And notwithstanding these septennial liberations, there *always were slaves* under the Jewish polity.

Paul is very explicit, not only in enforcing obedience on the slave, but in opposing the doctrine of abolitionism. Hear him to Timothy vi. 1—5: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor—and do them service—. These things, teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise—he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings, &c." See also Titus ii. 9—14.

To whatever extent we might agree on some parts of this subject, we differ, "*toto celo*," in the application of your principle, that "liberty is the birth-right of every human being." And yet you perceive that I do not differ more widely from you than *you* differ from Abraham, and the other patriarchs, and ancient men of God. Not more than you differ from Paul and Peter, and *Him*, who *taught them* to teach others.

You affect to despise the liberality of the South in the cause of Christian benevolence; while they "*bring their*

*gifts to the altar," "WRUNG,"* you say, "from the tears and sweat of the slave." And did the Jews leave their lambs and new wine at the altar, and first go and emancipate their slaves before they offered their gifts? Did those of Macedonia and Achaia, before they forwarded their contributions to Jerusalem? Abraham, I believe, sometimes made an offering to the Lord, "WRUNG," doubtless, "from the tears and the sweat of the slaves," which were "born in his *house*, or bought with his money." Yet Abraham, my dear sir, was blest, and he was made a blessing. He was blest by Melchisedec, that eminent type of Christ, priest of the most high God,—blest in the very act of paying to him, as a religious offering, a "tenth part of all," "*wronged* from the tears and sweat of his slaves;" yea, and that offering, the spoils of a battle, which Abram had just gained over Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, at the expense of the "tears and sweat" and blood of those very slaves. More than all this, Abraham was blessed of God as a master, *commanding* his children and *household*: and who shall curse him, whom the Lord has blest? Other slaveholders; his successors, were blessed of God. Slaveholders in later times were blessed of God, taught by holy men, who were inspired and sent for that purpose. Slaveholders now are blessed of God; yea, some of them are made a blessing to others, to their slaves, to the church, to the world. And who is he, that will pronounce the curse on those, whom the Lord has blest?

But *religious* slaves you think must be *prepared* for freedom, and therefore, *their* freedom may be demanded. Not so fast, my dear sir. I cannot admit that. They may be prepared to do well as free men, and still a state of slavery may be better for them. This opinion has been adopted by some slaves themselves, who after a trial have returned to their masters, begging the privilege to be taken again under their protection.

## LETTER XIII.

REV. PROFESSOR SMYTH:

*Dear Sir*,—You express your surprise that in the premises I have made out a case no more favorable for the slave, You say of me—"I expected him to affirm that the slave in South Carolina at least, is not, either by penal enactments or the general practice of the master, excluded from all knowledge of letters, and by necessary consequence, from all direct access to it. I expected he would have shown us the home of the slave, the family assembled around the domestic altar, the book of God open before them, and the Christian father reverently reading therefrom to his listening household. And as a proof, which might be known of all men, I expected him to declare that in the recent effort to supply every family in our land with a Bible, the poor slave, in this great work of mercy, was not of necessity passed by. But does Mr. Baily furnish any such evidence as this? No. All that he brings in support of his affirmation is, that the slaves of South Carolina are less destitute of the volume of revelation than five million Catholics of Ireland, and that to a great extent, they receive the pure word by *oral* instruction."

Now, my dear sir, however gratifying it might have been to me to fulfil your *expectations* to the utmost, I am sure you will neither hold me responsible for the failure, nor seriously pretend that I have not redeemed my pledge. I have, at least, done all that I proposed to do when I bring in *support of my affirmation, proof that the slaves of South Carolina are less destitute of the volume of revelation than the Catholics of Ireland; and that to a great extent, they receive the pure word by oral instruction.*" The first part of this proof was intended to show that Mr. Thompson was looking at a "*mote*" through a "*beam*"; and the last part was adduced to prove that the slaves of South

Carolina, although less favored than most of us, might desire, were still furnished with the BEST KIND OF INSTRUCTION, *the pure word by oral instruction*.

Passing any comparison of our slaves with the free blacks of New England, or with the poor of other countries, in which it perhaps might be shown that we are not "sinners above all,"—I deem it proper to call your attention, Professor Smyth, to the subject of *oral instruction*, so often made the object of sneer, but in the enjoyment of which, I say our slaves have the BEST KIND of instruction; and were you to furnish them with all other, omitting this, they still would lack the best.

How prone we are to slight, and undervalue, and neglect the privileges we have, in a vain impatience for those we shall never attain! Like fretful children, we dash the full cup from our lips because, though wholesome, it is not filled with luxuries to the surfeit. But surely, if any doubt the value of oral instruction, it will not be called in question by a college Professor. You know, sir, that it is the approved way, in which the greater part of the most valuable instruction is, and always has been imparted, more efficient, and more valuable than any other, perhaps than all other. The living instructor presents truth the most clearly, and always with explanation, if need be; he awakens thought, and furnishes the most powerful incentives to keep the mind awake. It always has been, and always must be principally relied upon as the great instrument of education. Why then should it be counted as a thing of naught, then and then only, when it is brought to the relief of the slave, to whom it is trebly valuable and peculiarly suited? Can you tell, sir? Why this inveterate opposition to his most efficient instruction in the most efficient way? Jesuitical cunning might be suspected of concealing its deadly enmity under such a *ruse*, but with those honest minds, who are employed in decrying our labors, and interrupting our benevolent plans for the instruction of the slaves, a just liberality has very properly given it the name of *fanaticism*.

Do you know the way, sir, in which the instruction of our slaves is conducted? Permit me to give you as a specimen, a brief account of the school which was held under my superintendance the last year. The blacks

were assembled in the church immediately after the afternoon service. They were divided into classes of from four to six, with an intelligent teacher to each class. The text book is Jones' doctrinal catechism, which comprises a full system of theological instruction, with a practical application of the doctrines, accompanied with Scripture proofs. The teacher first states the proposition or doctrine; each one of the class repeats it until it is fixed in the mind. They are then questioned and conversed with until they are made to understand the terms of the proposition. The proof text from the *pure word of God* is then repeated until they commit it to memory *verbatim*. Then comes its practical application. At the close, the superintendent recapitulates the lesson, with practical instructions, and exhortation, singing, and prayer. This lesson is the subject of their meditation during the week, and of their *recitation* on the next Sabbath—when they receive a new lesson as before. Some of my reasons for regarding this as the best kind of instruction for them, and far better than a reading ability, I will now state. First, it interests them. This proves to be the fact. The school, the conversation, the mutual comparison of thought, conflict of opinion under wise and competent teachers gain their *attention*, and interest them. Secondly, it excites the mind, awakens thought and keeps that attention alive. The lesson now taught is to be recited the next Sabbath. Each is anxious to understand it. It becomes a subject of conversation through the week, at evening, morning, in the house, in the field, in the little groups that assemble at a leisure hour. I have been deeply interested to find them through the week seeking explanation from their masters, mistresses or children of the family, on the absorbing subject of their next Sabbath lessons. If the practical effect of this plan could be fully known, I do not entertain a doubt that it would disarm the opposition of the abolitionists as well as of the wicked men, who oppose it here. I have never known it opposed here, when fully understood, except by rank infidels, and "for the Gospel's sake."

I firmly believe that if many Christians, privileged and lettered, whose Bibles lie neglected, could be reduced to an entire dependance on *oral* instruction, they would soon

advance in religious knowledge and experience. How many there are in our refined society, yea in the church of Christ, who depend entirely on the oral instructions of the Sabbath, who never open their Bibles from one Sabbath to the next! How extensively this is the fact, especially among the poor, and laboring classes, every attentive pastor is able with a bleeding heart to testify. I am not decrying letters. I only say, and say confidently, that in oral religious instruction, our slaves have the best. I do not say that it would be undesirable they should read the Bible, but I do confidently say, that reading it as a *substitute* for their present instructions, would be a calamity, a loss to them. Here, they have the *pure word of God*, the most important part of it, proof texts, treasured in their memories, with a commentary, the best commentary apprehended to each text. The great doctrines are few and simple. Children may understand them. The rules of life are reduced in the Scriptures, to very few propositions. Better have them understood and applied, than laboring libraries, and lumbering tomes of speculative learning.

Oral instruction is competent to lead in the way of salvation. There was no Bible, nor any portion of a Bible—unless Genesis is supposed to have been compiled from preexisting documents—until Moses was called A. M. 3763. All this time, religious truth was communicated solely by *oral instruction*. So Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob trained up their families, and *their slaves* in the fear of God. They and the Israelites through their whole history had many pious servants. And piety among masters and servants was just as great as it has ever been since.

In David's time the Jews had not half our present Bible; nor even half of the Old Testament.

Christianity was propagated by oral teaching, and not by books. Some churches, for a long time had no portion of the Christian Scriptures, and others, who lived in secluded situations, obtained portions of the New Testament gradually. Even in those places most favorably situated, Hug thinks that the full collection of the Christian Scriptures was made in the second century under Trajan. In the times of Origen, Jerom, Eusebius, many

particular books of the New Testament were not received by some of the churches, and their claims to an inspired origin were doubted. According to Eusebius, the Epistles of James and Jude, the second of Peter, the second and third of John the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse were the *anti-legomena*.

All Christians, students excepted, obtain most of their religious knowledge by *oral* instruction. In adaptation to the constitution and circumstances of man, God has appointed that sinners shall be in this way brought to a knowledge of the truth and edified, by the "foolishness of preaching." By oral instruction, too, men learn their occupations, in mechanics, husbandry and the various arts. And there are many men shrewd, contriving, judicious and successful in enterprise, who cannot read nor write. *Oral instruction*, rightly employed, is an *adequate* means of communicating instruction. So Socrates, Zeno and Pythagoras taught: so Homer, and all the bards: so Herodotus and all the historians. Yes sir—by TALKING, HEARING, and THINKING the greatest, most intellectual and polished of all nations, old Greece, was raised to her unequalled eminence.

So much, sir, for ORAL INSTRUCTION, which it is not my design to magnify, but to save from misrepresentation, to rescue from affected contempt, and, for the benefit of our college halls and of truth; to crown with merited respect in the pulpit its appropriate seat, in the Bible class, the professor's chair, the Lyceum, and family circle. If in the hands of the Roman priesthood it has been perverted, and magnified beyond its merits,—so have books; and under their fostering care, what has not? If *oral instruction* has been made *ex cathedra*, to pervert and cripple the truth, yet who does not know that, in all countries, it is the herald and defence of liberty, giving freedom to thought, and contributing to the diffusion of knowledge?

While in the use of this most efficient means of instruction, and diligently employed with our *schools for the slaves*, a specimen of which I have already furnished, we have been suddenly arrested by a terrible commotion of the political elements. The quietude, and benevolent operations of the sanctuary are invaded and broken up.

Our slaves are sent home. We are interrupted, and our schools suspended. Why? Because *abolitionists* pronounce *oral* instruction *inadequate*, and undertake to change the prescription. Public indignation is excited against them. They are turned out of doors, and in the tumult, delay, and mutual ill blood, the patient dies of neglect. Where lies his blood? O, sir, *you* may be an abolitionist in Brunswick, and be saved. But with what I know, your sin to me would be damning. I speak what I feel, "more in sorrow than in anger." My heart bleeds over the miseries, moral desolations, and spiritual death, which the operations of your society have spread over these fields which we had just entered, and prepared for the harvest. Can your hands, by no means, be stayed?

I do not say that all is doing, or ever has been done for the religious instruction of the slaves, which ought to be done. But a fair beginning had been made, and but for the interposition of the abolitionists of the North, I do not hesitate to say, the slaves of this and the Atlantic neighboring states would now be generally enjoying a course of efficient and systematic instructions. I cannot but regard the failure as a melancholy instance of human frailty, showing a device of the devil in stirring up the bad passions of good men to prevent the very thing they desire.

Nine years ago, I came into this state and found the public mind waking up to the duty of giving religious instruction to the slaves. Although systematic plans were not then extensively matured, yet individual efforts were attended every where with valuable results. A catechism, suited to the colored population, was published and brought into use by one of the most influential ministers of Charleston in 1828. These facts, with many others, which might be mentioned, reaching still farther back, clearly show that the South began to awake to action on the subject while the abolitionists were yet in deep slumber. These aroused themselves long after the sun had risen, and with eyes yet but half opened, have been to this hour tugging at the wrong wheel, and triggering the other. It must be "blindness in part," with many of them. They are not bad men. Yet I am ready to ask, when will they begin to see?

## LETTER XIV.

REV. PROFESSOR SMYTH:

*Dear Sir*,—When we assure you that you are doing incalculable injury to the cause of the slave, and entreat you to let us alone, you insist that the liberty of speech and of the press is invaded, that *we* dare not speak the truth, and that in spite to the truth the slaveholder makes your fidelity the excuse for inflicting injustice on the slave. I will admit that these views may be sincerely expressed, for I know that objects are very much modified in form, size, and every aspect, by the position we occupy, and the medium through which they are seen, as well as by the moral, intellectual, and even physical frame, under which our judgment acts. I will not, therefore, say that the abolitionists are maliciously the enemies of the slaves, liars against their brethren of the South, and uncharitable bigots, because they say and do such things. I will say they are *mistaken*, and if you will give me a candid hearing, I will show you that they are so.

1. In regard to liberty of speech and of the press, I think it is not true that the South are unfriendly to the full and free exercise of it, nor have they ever invaded it under any form, which lays them liable to this charge. That this liberty is freely enjoyed by southern men in speaking and writing on the agitating subject of slavery, I may refer you for proof to the Report of the committee of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia in 1833, and the Essay of Rev. C. C. Jones, of the same year on the moral and religious condition of our colored population, from both of which you have quoted. Is there, in the annals of the Anti-Slavery Society, any thing more bold,

explicit, and uncompromising than the language of these documents? You will say, *there is nothing*. Those papers, then, are a fair specimen of the language and manner, in which the subject is *spoken* and *written* upon here. You will say, the abolitionists themselves have said nothing worse of slavery, and nothing better for truth. Very well. What then? Why it proves that *we* can say *to one another* what *you* cannot say *to us*. That *we* can do among ourselves, what *you* cannot do. Is this strange? Not at all. You have some neighbors, who are your competitors in business. Their jealousy, or prejudice, or other unworthy causes have rendered all your sympathies unwelcome, and every kind office impossible. What do you do? You will not insist on mocking their severish sensibility. Grant them entirely in the wrong and you entirely in the right, yet you will not persist in a public exercise of your benevolence while they grow worse and worse under it. No,—I think you would, under the exercise of Christian prudence, and Gospel love, do like my neighbor, who offered to a very needy but proud man, once his rival in better days, a wagon load of corn from the harvest field. It was rejected with wonted disdain, and that too, while his family were suffering at home. My neighbor, whom I am sure you would desire to imitate, did not thrust the corn down his throat;—he immediately went to a known confidential friend of this poor man, and procured his kind and acceptable offices in passing over the *same load of corn* to the relief of the *same needy family*. He enjoyed then the luxury of doing good, although another was made the almoner of his bounty. You will admire not only the benevolence but the prudence and efficient zeal of this benefactor. He was right and the beneficiary was wrong. “*Sinc* is our God, and such are we,” on whom he makes his sun to rise, and the rain to descend. Bear with me, my brother, if I exhort you in this matter to imitate the divine example, so commendably practiced in the anecdote, by which I have just sought to enforce it, and to which I could furnish names of persons if it were prudent. If *you* cannot speak and write profitably on the duties of the slaveholder here, let *us* do it. You are not excluded by any spirit unfriendly to the freedom of speech, but if

you please to say so, by a sinful prejudice. If your dying neighbor will not receive a remedy from *your* hand, don't let him die, let *another hand* administer the cup.

But I cannot permit even the injustice here implied to be done to the South. There is another reason why *we* can speak with a freedom on this subject, which *you* cannot use. It is this—*We* speak the truth, unmixed with those errors into which, on this subject, you are constantly, though unconsciously betrayed. We shape our argument intelligently to the facts in the case. There is, therefore, no misapprehension of our words, motives, or true action. Hence, we are permitted to speak when you cannot. Our words are like oil on troubled waters, while yours are like borean blasts, which lash the troubled waters into rage.

But let us turn to history. Does that record any facts, which go to prove the South unfriendly to the liberty of speech or of the press? I think not. The South never opposed the discussion of this subject *in any of the ordinary forms of discussion*. They never have said that the people of the North might not discuss it *among themselves* in any form they pleased. They never opposed the ordinary circulation of those discussions in the ordinary way at the South. Newspapers containing them came to subscribers as usual. Or if some quietly withdrew their patronage from those prints professedly devoted to abolitionism, others from curiosity, or a desire of information, or for other reasons sent on their subscription. The ordinary course of things was permitted to proceed. What then have the South done; I will tell you. When the Abolition Society, assuming that the slavery of the southern states *ought to cease and shall cease immediately*, proceeded to raise large sums of money to accomplish this object; when they in 1833—4, had expended these funds in publications of a character most offensive in language, illiberal in spirit, and untrue in fact, as the slaveholders assert and believe; when these publications were thrown into the South by every avenue that was open, both public and private; when the country thus became literally flooded with them, and they were picked up in every direction, and by persons of every class;—then, and not till then,

the South took the ground that a *special exigency had arrived*, which called for prompt and extraordinary action. They *believed* the pamphlets incendiary, their firesides invaded, their property, lives, and liberties in danger—and under this conviction, deep and strong, the laws were in several instances suspended, while they uttered the declaration and made it to be heard on the other side the Potomac—"You shall not speak and write to us and appear among us in this way." This is the front of their offending. I will not now stop to prove that they had good reason to assign the particular character to the exigency which they did, or to justify their course even if this position were established. What I say is, that these were the circumstances and convictions under which they acted, and not from an unfriendliness to "*freedom of speech or the press.*" They acted as men are accustomed to act whenever you furnish them with similar circumstances, whether at the *North* or the *South*, the *East* or *West*. The South, therefore, have not shown themselves opposed to "*the freedom of speech and of the press,*" as that liberty is understood and practiced in our "*country of laws.*"

2. That we *dare* to speak, and write and publish the truth on the subject of slavery as well as others, I need only to refer you again to published documents of our ecclesiastical bodies, published sermons of our ministers, the newspapers of the day, the conversation every where publicly held, and the discourses from our pulpits through the land. These are the only competent witnesses in the case, and it seems to me they are decisive, unless it be necessary to make our *daring* meritorious.

3. It has been sometimes said that the fidelity of the abolitionists increases the burdens of the slave, and therefore the master is doubly criminal. Not, my dear sir, the *fidelity* of the abolitionists but their *imprudence*, to use the least offensive term. Self-preservation is a law of nature, and while the master continues to hold his slaves, he will provide for his own safety, at every expense. The course pursued by the abolitionists does, in the opinion of the master, endanger his own safety and interests, and, therefore, he abridges the privileges of the slave for his own protection. Who then is in fault? The increased op-

pression suffered by the slave, the curtailment of his privileges, his prolonged bondage are all the necessary and only result of *your* benevolence and persevering obstinacy in a mistaken course. *Here* I have ever been the advocate and defender of the abolitionists against indiscriminate and uncharitable impeachment of their motives. I can easily conceive how benevolent and pure minds, under the influence of false or exaggerated pictures of distress, could *adopt* the principles and practice of the abolition society, but how those same minds can *now persevere* in the cause, I find is not so easy to concede. The consequences, evil and only evil heretofore, necessarily evil in perpetuity, lie at the door of the abolitionists. So we sincerely believe. So will an awful catastrophe, I fear, pronounce, unless you change your course.

## LETTER XV.

REV. PROFESSOR SMYTH:

*Dear Sir*,—I have addressed to you these letters, now to be brought to a close under a deep sense of duty, and with the hope that I might contribute to suppress or mitigate what I deem a great evil. Such, in my apprehension, is the present spirit of abolitionism in all its bearings on the social, political, and religious interests of our country. Such it must be in its *issue* as now made, if prosecuted, and especially if successful. That issue, I must entreat you to review and consider well. It is an *issue of blood*, in the disruption of political bonds, compact, and plighted faith. It is the *dismemberment of our Union*, the violation of constitutional law, order and political existence. For all this, it is the substitution of anarchy, misrule and licentiousness. Who is prepared for it?

Does your benevolence burn, and are your desires irrepressible to do good to the African race, and to redress their wrongs? I, too, am their friend. I claim a fellow feeling, and perhaps am not behind you in a present devotion to their interests. My feelings are active, and live in actions, which are always louder than words, and those actions are in contact with their object. Do you ask for an object on which to expend your benevolence in acts of love? I answer. First, seek those who are around you and dwell by you. Do them good. Redeem from ignorance and vice the black men of Maine. If I mistake not the spirit of Gospel benevolence, it is appropriately, if not intentionally, expressed by the poet.

"Friend, parent, neighbor, first it will embrace,  
"His country next, and next all human race."

When you have set in operation suitable means for the relief and benefit of those around you, then in the true missionary spirit, go abroad.

Avoiding scrupulously all interference with politics, and the civil institutions of every community, with true apostolic zeal and prudence, seek out the black man wherever you can find access to him to do him good. Especially seek him in the native land where he lives in thick, deep and damning darkness, depravity and moral ruin. Seek to *elevate the race*. Until you do this, you may clip the branches, but the root will be vigorous still. Why is Africa emphatically the land of slavery, and the Africans a race of slaves ? Not because two millions of her sons are in bondage here. This is numerically a small fraction in the aggregate of African slavery. It is because Africa, with a population of one hundred millions has the system of slavery pervading the whole country, and embracing, perhaps, one half its whole population. It is because, *as a race*, the Africans are sunk in ignorance, degradation and vice. It is because, in this condition, they cannot govern themselves, nor form any elevated standard of conduct and character.

Do you suppose it would be possible to make slaves of any portion of our American Anglo-Saxon race ? No. And why ? Because *the race* is elevated above it, and know how to assert and estimate their liberty. Let but half a dozen common sailors, let even one of our humblest citizens be made a galley slave, and the whole race is united to liberate him. Does Africa do this ? No. She is the maker of slaves, subjugating her own sons. She is properly the great mart, where they are sold for transportation to other and distant countries. To a great extent, therefore, the transfer of Africans to this country did not make them slaves—it only changed the place of their servitude. So far as they are seriously affected by this change they are favorably affected. Who will deny that the slavery of this country is more tolerable than the slavery of Africa. The most ignorant, degraded and vicious are the native Africans. The race here is intelligent, industrious and moral in almost exact proportion as their generations recede from the African stock. This,

though true, is not adduced and cannot avail to justify the slave trade, which is execrable and condemned by other facts, and principles of elementary rights.

What then should we do? What can we do? I answer. *Elevate the race.* This we can do. They are capable of it. This we *ought* to do. This is precisely and eminently the effect of the efforts made by the Colonization Society. They go to Africa. They plant the Gospel there. They erect hospitals. They establish schools, and found colleges. They seek to elevate and regenerate the race. Planting themselves between the slave ship and the slave, they interpose the laws of nations to interdict the trade. At the same time, they shed abroad the light and warmth of Gospel truth to soften and humanize the hearts of the Africans themselves, cultivating among them the arts of life, and diffusing the blessings of civil and self government.

This, too, is precisely the object of the "Maine Union in behalf of the colored race." They seek to "elevate the condition and promote the best interest of the free people of color to whom they *can* gain access"—and to effect the "final extinction of slavery, so soon as it can be done with the free will and consent of the slaveholder."

A similar object is promoted by the whole system of instruction attempted in the slave states. This prepares for the blessings of freedom, those who may be set free by their masters, and makes that freedom an acceptable boon, while it mitigates the evils of slavery, if it does not entirely extinguish them, to those who are retained in slavery.

What then will be the result? What the issue? Why, let this system go on. Let Africa become enlightened, christianized, redeemed from her present degradation at home. Let the race all over the world, through the benevolent exertions of those, who love their species, be taught, enlightened and elevated. What then? *Can* they be a nation of slaves? They cannot. Their wrongs will be redressed. They will become "emancipated and free." If they are not amalgamated,—which "may heaven forefend,"—they will be placed on a footing with other enlightened and industrious poor. If slavery is not anni-

hilated, it will be modified, and be relieved of its oppression.

Now, what, on the other hand is the action of the Anti-Slavery Society ? The first thing they do is to place the men whom they would benefit, beyond their reach. Then by an abstraction, they would redeem two millions of Africans to a worse condition than the present. They would annihilate at a stroke the Colonization Society, and extinguish the lights of life they have kindled all along the coast of Western Africa. They would call away the Gospel heralds from Liberia, Cape Palmas, and Sierra Leone. - They would annihilate the "Maine Union," and theorise Africa and our southern slaves into good free men, and intelligent Christians. Was ever fanaticism more palpably blind and fatal to its objects ?

I have now, sir, borne my testimony, and resisted the impeachment of it. This testimony was first given in answer to frequent inquiries after the truth, and its defence, attempted in these letters addressed to you, is a just re-quital of the ingenuousness, which placed your proper signature to your communications. If I have been betrayed into ill temper or unkind personalities in a single instance, it has been against my settled purpose, and remains still unperceived by me. I am not too blind, however, to suspect myself of a liability to err in these respects. Debate, whether on principle or facts, is too apt to awaken a spirit of acrimony, and end in bitter personalities. Thus, an impulse is received, which often drives to extremes those, who commenced with candor. Under the distinct apprehension of these dangers, I determined to make my statements and retire. Nothing has changed this determination but a denial of the correctness of my statements under a responsible name. Having now confirmed my former testimony, it is left to do its office.

It is humiliating to reflect how much we are liable to the influence of prejudice and passion, how distorted the truth may become in our own handling, or perverted when looked at through the most correct paintings of others. Such facts should ever make us suspicious of ourselves ; since what is true of the species, must pertain to the individuals of that species, and what is general

may attach unconsciously to ourselves. During a life not yet long, I have learned to fear the extremes almost invariably taken by parties under excitement, and to look with much charity on the acts of those who take them.

During the operation of the "restrictive system," so called, under Mr. Madison's administration, I resided in Portland. The political parties were then in the highest state of excitement, and apparently ready for revolution. Social intercourse between them was almost broken up. Society was split, cleft asunder by the wedge of political rancor. Political integrity and common honesty were hardly awarded in the judgment of one man to his political opponents. The demon of discord was in the ascendant, and all was bitterness, sometimes even in the cup of a common table. Families were divided, children disinherited, even the elements of a man's own spirit seemed to be turned to gall within him, pervading his entire thought, feeling and action. Too young then to receive the *virus*, though youth were not entirely exempted from the contagion—I looked on with more of the philosopher, perhaps, than some who had studied philosophy as a science. My observations, then made, have been of lasting benefit. The lapse of a few months made great alterations. A few more months changed the state of parties, formed new combinations, joined new hands, and separated old attachments. Thus, within a period too short to prove the real reformation of a villain, these men, who lately acted under the most profound belief of each other's rascality were joined hands and hearts, and were soon "nestling together heads and points, in the same truckle bed." The fact was, they were both honest, and when passion and prejudice had subsided, they both saw the truth. They all loved their country, and sought according to their judgment, its best interests.

In the late political struggle on the tariff, I have resided in South Carolina. Here, we have had our "Union men," and "Nullifiers." The same excited feeling, passion, prejudice, and bitterness have pervaded society and interrupted its harmony. Although now a man, yet being a minister of religion, I have never become a politician. Enjoying independently my own opinions, I have stood

aloof, having never yet, during a life of more than forty years, *gone down* to the ballot box, nor identified myself with a political party. I have, therefore, still been an observer. During the recent contest, I have sat at the table of one of my congregation, and heard the intelligent and respectable head of the family declare that he believed from his utmost soul that it was impossible for a "Union" to be either a Christian, an honest man, or a patriot. The next day, I dined with another member of my church of the opposite party, and in similar words of bitterness, and uncharitableness, *he* denounced the "nullifiers." Such was the general state of society and party feeling. Yet the lapse of two or three years has here also broken up these old parties, formed new ones, and entirely reformed these rascals, who are now good men and true in the estimation of those, who were then their bitterest enemies. And yet they are the same men—all honorable, honest, lovers of the country, and ready to die for it.

Such also is the state of parties on most of those subjects that go to make up the aggregate of an unparalleled degree of excitement, which now disturbs the political elements, and moves the foundations of society. Even towards the abolitionists, in my apprehension the most unreasonable, the most inveterately obstinate and dangerous of all, I have never permitted myself to entertain any sentiments but those of forbearance and charity. Although I have spoken freely of their errors, I have no doubt there is among them a great deal of true patriotism and moral honesty. I do not know a man among them, toward whom, *on this account*, I could decline society or Christian fellowship. They are honest as a party, and therefore are capable of reformation. I believe they will see their error, and the fanaticism will evaporate. In accordance with these sentiments, I have now only to express toward you my personal respect, and proffer you a brother's hand.

R. W. BAILEY.

# BOOKS

PUBLISHED AND FOR SALE BY

JOHN S. TAYLOR,

THEOLOGICAL AND SUNDAY SCHOOL BOOKSELLER,

BRICK CHURCH CHAPEL,

CORNER OF PARK-ROW AND NASSAU-STREET, OPPOSITE THE CITY-HALL,

NEW-YORK.

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SELECT REMAINS OF THE LATE WILLIAM NE.  
VINS, D. D. with a Memoir. Price \$1 00.

From the New-York Weekly Messenger.

*Select Remains of the Rev. William Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir.*—“The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.” They erect for themselves a monument, enduring as the throne of God, imperishable as the crown of glory which bedecks the brow of him who is Lord of all. These lights of the world are never extinguished; but while their mortal remains are mouldering in the tomb, the recollection of their graces enkindles in those who remain, a flame of holy emulation and zeal. Such is, and will be the case, with respect to the lamented divine whose honored name stands at the head of this notice. Dr. Nevins was a man of eminent piety and great talent, and though he requested that no extended memoir of him might be attempted, yet it was never likely but that some account of him should be written and published. This has been done, and the usefulness of the work before us cannot fail to be co-extensive with its circulation. The prominent features of Dr. Nevins’ character are worthy of universal imitation. His talents and acquirements were superior, his piety sincere, and his wisdom practical. Humility and amiability, diligence and punctuality, were traits acknowledged by all who knew him. He was a powerful writer, and those productions of his pen which appear in this volume as “Select Remains,” are “as apples of gold in pictures of silver”—“words fitly spoken.” In addition to all the excellencies with which this volume abounds, we are happy to mention the neatness and beauty of its typography, the whiteness of the paper, and the exquisite delicacy of the beautiful likeness of Dr. Nevins with which the book is embellished. We shall cease to mention London books as standards of taste and elegance, if such volumes as this are presented to us from a New York press and bindery. We recommend this work to universal attention.

From the New-York Evangelist.

*Nevins’ Remains.*—A Memoir of the late Rev. William Nevins, with Select Extracts from his unpublished writings.

The public were informed, at the time of Dr. Nevins’ decease, that he

papers had been placed, by himself, in the hands of Rev. William Plumer, to be used at his discretion. The volume before us is the result, and shows that the discretion has been discreetly exorcised. The memoir is brief, in decorous conformity to the expressed wish of the deceased. The selections are mostly paragraphs and short essays, such as Dr. N. was accustomed to write for the papers.

Probably none of our readers have yet to learn the character of Dr. Nevins, as a Christian of rich experience, a pastor of tried fidelity, and a writer of religious essays unsurpassed in our day. To all his friends this volume will be a valuable memento. The publisher has spared no pains in the external appearance of the book, which is equal to the finest productions of the English press. The portrait is very fine.

From the New-York Observer.

*Select Remains of Rev. William Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir.*—This valuable work has just been published by Mr. John S. Taylor, corner of Park-row and Nassau-street. It is a handsome octavo of 398 pages, containing a portrait engraved on steel. About 80 pages are occupied with a biographical notice of Dr. Nevins and extracts from his diary. From 1830 until 1835, they are given in an unbroken series. We have seldom read a diary with deeper interest. It becomes richer and richer in heavenly thoughts as the author drew near the end of his earthly labors. The book consists chiefly of selections from his unpublished writings, which are replete with the purest and most exalted sentiments, expressed with simplicity, conciseness, and point. To all who have read Mr. Nevins' Essays in the New-York Observer, over the signature of M. S. it is needless to remark upon the excellence and peculiar charm of his writings, which combine sententiousness and pungency with deep and living piety. The work may be recommended as useful in forming, and strengthening, and maturing the Christian graces.

From the Newark Daily Advertiser.

*Select Remains of Rev. William Nevins, D. D. with a Memoir.*—An elegant octavo of 400 pages, with a spirited portrait from a painting by Inman. The work is in all respects—paper, print, binding, contents—a beautiful memorial of an amiable and lamented divine, whose pure light shone brightly in the church. The memoir is brief and modest, consisting chiefly of extracts from his correspondence with his friends. The "Remains" comprise a great variety of extracts from Dr. Nevins' writings, containing his views on most leading questions which interest the attention of the christian world.

After straining the eye over the full and condensed pages of the popular publications of the day, we experience great relief from the bold typography, open page, and clear broad margin of an old-fashioned volume like this. The publisher has given us a noble specimen of his art.

From the Commercial Advertiser.

*Remains of Nevins.*—John S. Taylor has just published a large and elegantly printed and bound, 8vo, entitled "Select Remains of the Rev. Wm. Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir." The name of the author and compiler is not given, but he has executed his labor with excellent judgment and taste. The memoir is a rapid sketch of the life of Dr. Nevins, for which, although

by no means devoid of interest, it appears that few materials had been preserved.

The "Select Remains" consist, for the most part, of short sketches and fragments of compositions, devout meditations, reflections, &c. upon a great variety of religious and moral subjects, with a collection of select sentences, aphorisms, &c. &c. found scattered among the papers of the deceased. Among these are many bright and beautiful thoughts, and the whole work is interspersed with such a rare spirit of meek and gentle piety as is but seldom to be found in the compositions of the best. He was a man who almost literally "walked with God."

From the American Citizen.

*Select Remains of the Rev. William Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir.*—This work (to adopt the language of the Newark Advertiser) is, in all respects—paper, print, binding, contents—a beautiful memorial of an amiable and lamented divine, whose pure light shone brightly in the Church. The memoir is brief and modest, consisting chiefly of extracts from his correspondence with his friends. The "Remains" comprise a great variety of extracts from Dr. Nevins' writings, containing his views on most leading questions which interest the attention of the Christian world.

The volume is an octavo of 400 pages, is printed on large open type, has a spirited likeness of the subject of the Memoir, painted by Isaacs, and engraved by Paradise, and is otherwise well "got up." Though Dr. Nevins died young, his fame (if the word may be pardoned) as a preacher and writer, was wide spread, and we cannot but trust that the good taste and liberal spirit of the publisher, as evinced in this instance, will be duly appreciated and rewarded. Indeed, the public—the religious public especially—are much indebted to Mr. Taylor for their previous acquaintance with the author of these Remains, through the "*Practical Thoughts*," and the "*Thoughts on Property*," the first of which works is every where read with pleasure, and both, it is hoped, with profit; and they have doubtless prepared the way for the favorable reception of the present volume.

Dr. Nevins wrote much, and all who read, will acknowledge that he wrote well.

From the Evening Star.

*Select Remains of the Rev. William Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir.*—The subject of this memoir was a pious and unpretending divine, in possession of strong faculties and many great virtues. His life was one of great usefulness, and much of his time devoted to the relief of the distressed and the alleviation of the misfortunes of his brethren. The style in which this work is sent forth deserves the highest commendation. The type is large, full, and handsome, and the paper is white, clear and lustrous, and presents a beautiful specimen of typographical neatness.

From the Journal of Commerce.

*Memoir and Remains of Rev. Dr. Nevins, late of Baltimore.*—An intelligent friend who has read this work, (which we have not yet found time to do,) speaks of it as "a beautiful volume, and as useful as it is beautiful." He adds—"The Memoir is prepared by a judicious friend of the deceased, whose name is not given, and the Remains consists of short reflections on various subjects of every day utility, for which the lamented author (alas! too soon removed to his reward) was so celebrated. The manner in which it is

got up, is very creditable to the publisher, Mr. John S. Taylor, of Park Row, Chatham street. We need such *aids to reflection*, and we hope our readers will patronize this book, and make themselves familiar with the precepts and example of the worthy disciple of our Savior."

From the New-York American.

*Select Remains of the Rev. William Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir.*—The life of a pious, unpretending, and zealous Clergyman, offers little out of which to make a book suited to the popular taste—but affection loves to perpetuate the memory of its objects, and affection has ushered forth this volume, beautiful in its materials and typography, and well fitted to instruct, refine, and purify by its contents.

The extracts from the diary of Dr. Nevins present him in a most favorable light, as a cheerful, humble and resigned clergyman—who found in the midst of severe domestic affliction that his religion was a reality, and that its promises were not in vain.

The greater part of the volume is made up of miscellaneous extracts on different subjects, all connected with religion, from the manuscript papers of Dr. Nevins.

From the Philadelphia Gazette.

*Dr. Nevins.*—We find upon our table a beautifully printed octavo volume, entitled "Select Remains of the Rev. William Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir;" and we observe also, a well engraved likeness of the estimable subject of the Memoir. We found time to read only the Memoir and some of the "Remains." We share, we suppose, with most persons the pleasure of reading diaries, auto-biographical sketches, and short memoirs. They open up the heart to the reader, and, as face answers to face in the glass, one finds his own heart beating responsive to the pulsations of his whose experience he is gathering. Dr. Nevins was a man of deep affections—while he seemed to direct all its streams towards objects of eternal interest, there was a swelling up and gushing forth for home and the fire-side circle, that showed how salutary are the touches of religion upon earthly love; the true exercise of the latter being the best evidences of the existence of the former.

The "Remains" are extracts from the sermons and occasional writings of Dr. Nevins, and show a ripe scholar, a clear thinker, and good writer. We commend the book to those who like religious reading—they will find pleasure in its perusal. We commend it more to those who do not like religious reading—they will find profit from its study.

From the New-Yorker.

*Select Remains of Rev. William Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir.*—Rarely have we welcomed to our table a volume so strikingly creditable to the American press as that now before us—a beautifully and richly executed octavo of 400 pages. The matter is worthy of the garb in which it is presented. The divine whose "Remains" are thus given to the public, was a burning and a shining light in the Presbyterian Church, and his decease was deeply and widely felt by his brethren in faith, but especially at Baltimore, the theatre of his labors of love. The volume now published consists of choice extracts from his sermons, his letters, and his contributions to religious journals. It is embellished by a beautiful likeness, and deserves an honorable place in the library of the orthodox Christian.

From the New-York Express.

*Select Remains of the Rev. Mr. Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir.*—New-York, John S. Taylor, corner of Park Row and Nassau-street; an elegant octavo of 400 pages, with a spirited portrait from a painting by Inman. The work is in all respects—paper, print, binding, and contents—a beautiful memorial of an amiable and lamented divine, whose pure light shone brightly in the church. The memoir is brief and modest, consisting chiefly of extracts from his correspondence with his friends. The “Remains” comprise a great variety of extracts from Dr. Nevins’ writings, containing his views on the leading questions which interest the attention of the christian world.

From the Morning Star.

*Select Remains of the Rev. Mr. Nevins, D. D., with a Memoir,* with an elegant portrait, from a painting by Inman.

This is a most beautiful work. In paper, print, and binding, it exceeds any new work that we have seen. The Memoir is correct and brief. The Remains comprise a variety of the finest extracts from the writings of this eminently talented and lamented divine: several of them are on the doctrines which now agitate the church.

From the American Baptist.

*Select Remains of the Rev. William Nevins, D. D. With a Memoir.* 8vo. pp. 398.

With Dr. Nevins, it was never our happiness to be personally acquainted. But the perusal of this work has left a deep yet unavailing regret, that we should have been contemporary with such a choice spirit—should have dwelt in the same city with him, and it may be, have aided by him in the crowded street, and yet never have seen, and never have known him!

And so will it be with many, now pressing with us for the goal, who, when they have outrun us in the Christian stadium, have seized the garland, and their virtues and their victories have been heralded to the church and to the world, we shall regret that we saw them not, and wonder most of all, that living in the same age, sojourning in the same cities, and perhaps for a time sheltered beneath the same roof, we yet should have let pass unimproved the golden opportunity of enriching our stores of piety and intelligence by an endeared and confiding intercourse.

To us the very sight of a holy man is sanctifying. We love to gaze on his resemblance to his Lord, till we catch his spirit and are changed into the same image! What gainers then might we have been, had we been brought within the influence of a man, a Christian, and a minister, so richly endowed with piety and intellect, and around whom there was thrown, in foldings of such richness and grace, the beautiful robe of humility, as was Nevins! What lessons might we have drawn from his holy walk, his stern principles of integrity, his untiring industry, his various and successful plans of usefulness, and the spirit of self-annihilation which enshrined all in its burning lustre! But we have formed an intimacy with him through his “Remains,”—alas! that the response should be from the grave!—and their perusal has left upon the heart the faint impress of a character, which, in its living influence, must have been peculiarly and eminently spiritual. The “Memoir” which introduces the “Remains,” though brief, possesses yet a charm which other and more elaborate biographies can seldom claim—that of permitting the subject himself to speak out the history of his own life and experience—

so that the memoir of Nevins might be justly styled an auto-biography. The extracts from his diary and letters will be read with deep interest—and cold and unfeeling must be the individual who can linger around the touching picture of his desolated and broken heart, mourning over the grave of her who was the wife of his youth and the charm of his life, and feel no thrilling emotion. The Christian, too, who is, as was the departed Nevins, all his life-time in bondage through the fear of death, as he stands by his bed-side, and beholds him with unshaken faith in the faithfulness of God, and listens to his song, though treinulous in death, of joy and triumph, will dismiss his fears, and commit his soul afresh to Him who is able to keep it against that day.

But of his "Remains," what shall we say? We have perused, and re-perused, and will peruse them yet again, so elevated in thought, so pure in style, so eloquent in language, and so rich in piety are they. We think, in each of these particulars, they will rank with "Pascal's and Adam's Thoughts," and with "Searl's Christian Remembrancer." By their side, on our biographical shelf, we have placed the "Remains and the Memoir of William Nevins."

The work, as presented to the public by its enterprising publisher, *John S. Taylor*, Park Row, New-York, is a beautiful specimen of neatness in typography, and elegance in binding. Its appearance will vie with any book in this department of literature which we have yet received either from the English or the American press. That the fondest hopes which influenced *Nevins* in writing, *Plumer* in compiling, and *Taylor* in publishing this work, may reach the utmost limits of realization, is our sincerest wish.

From the Long-Island Star.

*Select Remains of the Rev. William Nevins, D. D. with a Memoir—New-York—John S. Taylor.* The gifted author of these posthumous fragments, while in the midst of his deeds of charity and love, and before he had reached his manhood's prime, was summoned from the field of his labors and conflicts to

"Join the caravan that moves  
To the pale realms of shade."

Perhaps the usefulness of the art of printing is never so forcibly felt as when death suddenly severs a great mind, and extinguishes a flaming light from among the living. THE PRESS seems to grasp and converge the rays that gather over the death-couch of the devoted in piety and strong in intellect and pours them out again in their full effulgence,

"The round of rays complete,"

upon a benighted world. THE PRESS, into the everlasting ear of its memory, seems to drink up the last impressive lesson and parting benediction of the departing patriarch, as he takes his departure to mingle with those beyond the flood, and imparts to them an immortal voice, whereby "being dead, he yet speaketh." Truly may it be said of the lamented Nevins, "being dead, he yet speaketh"—speaketh in the kindness of heart by which he was endeared to the social circle—speaketh by his good works, for which the widow and the fatherless still bless his memory—speaketh in his exemplary piety, which made him a "burning and a shining light" to a captious and infidel people—speaketh in the language of his eloquent teachings and aspirations, preserved in the volume before us, for the enlightenment and consolation of the way-farer on life's bleak journey.

From the Rev. Wm. Adams, Pastor of the Broome-st. Church, New-York.

*Memoir and Select Remains of Nevins.*—It would be difficult to mention a book which does more credit to an author or a publisher than this. The contents are like “apples of gold in pictures of silver.”

Who that knew the lamented author, does not see his image reflected from these pages—refined, ornate, thoughtful and spiritual. We see him again passing through his various and diversified trials—prosperity and adversity, sickness and death, and coming out like silver that has been tried. We commend especially the fragments which were written under the greatest of all earthly losses, and in near prospect of his own departure. They breathe the spirit of heaven. Blessed be God for such an exemplification of faith and patience—for this new evidence of the reality and stability of our hopes. He was a burning and a shining light, and many have and will rejoice in that light.

The fragmentary form of these articles will insure frequent perusal. They are the best specimens of this description since the *Remains of Cecil*; with less of his mannerism and style, there is more of simplicity and adaptiveness to general readers. In a time of haste and little reflection, their brilliant thoughts may arrest attention, and lead others to reflect also.

In unqualified terms do we commend this volume, for the richness of its contents and the uncommon elegance of its form. WILLIAM ADAMS.

PRACTICAL THOUGHTS. By the late Dr. Nevins, of Baltimore.

THOUGHTS ON POPERY. By Dr. Nevins, of Baltimore.

From the New-York Observer of April 9th, 1836.

The *Practical Thoughts* consists of forty-six articles on prayer, praise, professing Christ, duties to Sabbath Schools, the monthly concert, the conversion of the world, violations of the Sabbath, liberality, man's inconsistency, the pity of the Lord, Christian duty, death, &c.; the last of which are “Heaven's Attractions” and “The Heavenly Recognition,” closing with the words, “By the time we have done what I recommend, we shall be close upon the celestial confines—perhaps within heaven's limits.” \* \*

There the sainted author laid down his pen, leaving the article unfinished, and went, none can doubt, to enjoy the blest reality of the scenes he had been so vividly describing.

These articles combine great simplicity, attractiveness, and vivacity of thought and style, with a spiritual unction scarcely to be found in any other writer. Thousands of minds were impressed with them as they first appeared; they reproved the inconsistent Christian, roused the slumbering, and poured a precious balm into many an afflicted bosom. While writing them, the author buried a beloved wife, and had daily more and more sure indications that the hour of his own departure was at hand; and God enabled him, from the depth of his own Christian experience, to open rich fountains of blessing for others.

The *Thoughts on Popery* are like, and yet unlike, the other series. There is the same sprightliness of the imagination, the same clearness, originality, and richness of thought, with a keenness of argument, and sometimes irony, that exposes the baseness and shamelessness of the dogmas and superstitions of Popery, and that must carry home conviction to the under-

standing and heart of every unprejudiced reader. Piece by piece the delusion, not to say imposition, of that misnamed church are exposed, under the heads of the Sufficiency of the Bible, the Nine Commandments, Mortal and Venial Sins, Infallibility, Idolatry, Relics, the Seven Sacraments, Penance, the Mass, Celibacy of the Clergy, Purgatory, Canonizing Saints, Lafayette not at Rest, The Leopold Reports, Supererogation, Convents, &c. We know of nothing that has yet been issued which so lays open the deformities of Popery to common minds, or is so admirably adapted to save our country from its wiles, and to guard the souls of men from its fatal snares.

## HINTS TO PARENTS ON THE EARLY RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF CHILDREN. By Gardiner Spring, D. D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New-York. 18mo. with a steel engraving. Price 37½ cts.

From the New-York Weekly Messenger and Young Man's Advocate.

*Dr. Spring's Hints to Parents.*—One of the prettiest little works of this class that we have ever met with, is just published; it is called "*Hints to Parents on the Religious Education of Children.* By Gardiner Spring, D. D." The author has been long and favorably known to the public as a chaste, powerful, and popular writer. The subject of the present work is one of great moment—one in which every parent has a real interest. And we commend this little volume, not only to pious parents, but to all who desire to bring up their children in such a manner as to make them an honor to themselves and a blessing to their fellow-men.

From the Commercial Advertiser.

*Hints to Parents on the Religious Education of Children.* By Gardiner Spring, D. D.—This beautiful little volume, coming out at this time, will be peculiarly acceptable to the congregation of the able and excellent author, and will have the effect of a legacy of his opinions on a most important subject, now that for a time they are deprived of his personal instructions. It is a work that should be in the hands of every parent throughout our country, who has the temporal and eternal interest of his offspring at heart. The few and leading maxims of the Christian religion are plainly and practically enforced, and the parent's duties are descanted on in a strain of pure and beautiful eloquence, which a father's mind, elevated by religion, only could have dictated. We believe that a general knowledge of this little volume would be attended with consequences beneficial to society, since a practice of its recommendations could scarcely be refused to its solemn and affectionate spirit of entreaty.

## THE MINISTRY WE NEED. By S. H. Cox, D. D., and others. 37½ cents.

From the Literary and Theological Review.

This neat little volume comprises the inaugural charge and address which were delivered on occasion of inducting the PROFESSOR OF SACRED RHETORIC AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY in the Theological Seminary at Auburn. The friends of Dr. Cox will not be disappointed in his inaugural address. It bears the impress of his talents and piety—his enlarged views and Catholic spirit. To analyze it would convey no adequate idea of its merits. His theme is the

ministry of reconciliation—"the chosen medium by which God conciliates men—the mighty moral enginery that accomplishes his brightest wonders—the authentic diplomacy of the *King of kings* working salvation in the midst of the earth." The manner in which he treats his subject, in relation to the importance of the Christian ministry, and the kind of ministry needed in this age and nation, we need hardly remark, will amply repay the perusal of his brethren, if not be interesting and instructive to the Church at large.

"Error-scenting notoriety" may not altogether like the odor of this little book; and the "*lynx-eyed detectors of heresy*" will not be forward to approve a work in which they are handled with unsparing severity; but by "all the favorers on principle of a pious, sound, educated, scriptural, and accomplished ministry in the Church of God, and throughout the world, as the MINISTRY WE NEED, to whom this little volume is most respectfully inscribed," it will be read, and, we trust, circulated.

## THE LILY OF THE VALLEY. 18mo. Price 37½ cents.

From the Methodist Protestant, Baltimore.

This is a neat and very interesting little volume. The narrative throughout will be read with pleasure, and some portions of it with thrilling interest. The story is natural, and told in very neat language and with admirable simplicity. It is not only calculated to please and interest the mind of the reader, but also to make moral and religious impressions upon the heart. We are well assured, if its merits were generally known, that it would find its way into many families and Sabbath school libraries, as it is particularly adapted to please and engage the attention of Juvenile readers.

From the Christian Intelligencer.

This is a republication of a small narrative volume published in England. The narrative is written with beautiful simplicity, possesses a touching interest, and is calculated to leave a salutary impression. It is well fitted for a present by parents or friends to children, and is worthy of a place in Sabbath school libraries.

From the Ladies' Morning Star of Aug. 26, 1836.

The above is the title of a very interesting little work of 123 pages, recently published and for sale by John S. Taylor, Brick Church Chapel, New-York. It is a simple though beautiful narrative of a young female, some portions of which are of the most pathetic and affecting character, particularly designed for the edification and instruction of young females, and a most excellent work to introduce into Sabbath schools. Its tendency is to kindle the flames of piety in the youthful bosom, to instruct the understanding, and to warm and improve the heart. Its intrinsic though unostentatious merits, should furnish it with a welcome into every family.

Commentary Notice, by the Rev. W. Patton.

Mr. J. S. TAYLOR,—It affords me pleasure to learn that you are about to republish the little work called "The Lily of the Valley." Since the time it was presented to my daughter by the Rev. Dr. Matheson, of England, it has been a great favorite in my family. It has been read with intense interest by many, who have from time to time obtained the loan of it. Indeed it has but seldom been at home since its first perusal. I doubt not but all who have read it will be glad of the opportunity of possessing a copy.

The story is not only natural, but instructive ; and well calculated to impress upon the mind important moral and religious lessons. Some portions of the narrative are of the most touching and thrilling character. There is a charming simplicity pervading the work. I feel a strong confidence that you will find an ample sale for the book. It will find its way into many families, and be found in the libraries of the Sabbath school.

Yours respectfully,

WM. PATTON.

## LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF CHRISTIAN LIFE. By William C. Brownlee, D. D. \$1 00.

From the Religious Magazine.

*Lights and Shadows of Christian Life. Designed for the Instruction of the Young. By William Craig Brownlee, D. D. of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, New-York. New-York, John S. Taylor. 1837. 12mo. pp. 388.*—Dr. Brownlee has here presented the Christian public with a volume of Religious Tales, which cannot fail, we think, to be read with general interest by the friends of religion, to whatever creed they may belong. It is refreshing to find one who has been so long harnessed for polemical warfare, thus laying aside his spear and shield, and endeavouring to benefit his readers, by presenting the truths of religion under so attractive a form as is afforded by well-written tales. This is, without doubt, a difficult species of composition, and one in which, though many have made the attempt, few have ever met with more than partial and short-lived success. For this fact there are plainly some obvious reasons. The first is probably the want of a correct public taste for what is just and true in religion. The second, we imagine, lies rather in the mode in which the attempt has usually been made, than in the nature of the case. It is much easier, and consequently far more common, to connect dull and tedious conversations on religious topics, with a meagre and uninteresting narrative, than to form a story which shall by its very texture, impress religious truth, without the aid of direct instruction. Hence, such works, considered as religious essays, are too barren of instruction, to engage much attention, and, viewed as tales, they want the essential element of deep and permanent interest in the narrative.

The views of our author upon this subject may be learned from the following extract from his introductory address to his youthful readers.

Whether the honour, thus "accepted" by Dr. Brownlee, of being associated, in any sense, with Professor Wilson, the incomparable author of the "Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life," will be finally awarded to him, it would be premature for us to attempt to decide by anticipating the verdict of futurity. To be thus associated is indeed a high honour, and one which undoubtedly requires far more for its attainment, than to compose a book with a title similar to that of the highly popular work of the Professor. A\*\*.

From the Methodist Protestant.

*Lights and Shadows of a Christian Life; designed for the instruction of the young, by Wm. C. Brownlee, D. D.*—This is a most excellent and valuable work. It comprises several highly interesting narratives intended for the illustration of divine truth, and the enforcement of duty. They are founded on fact, and presented in an attractive and nervous style, and well calculated to engage the attention of juvenile readers, for whom the book is

principally designed; and to make deep impressions upon the mind in favor of the Christian religion. There was a great necessity for a volume, whose attractions might divert the mind from those light and trashy productions that are teeming from the press, and calculated to vitiate the taste, and enfeeble the intellect of the reader. This necessity is now met by the interesting and useful volume of Dr. Brownlee; which we hope will have an extensive circulation.

The book is got up in excellent style by the publisher, Mr. J. S. Taylor, of New-York. It may be had in this city of J. J. Harrod.

From the Philadelphia Observer.

*Lights and Shadows of Christian Life*, by William C. Brownlee, D. D. Published by J. S. Taylor, New-York, and Henry Perkins, Philadelphia. The author of this work is well known to, and appreciated by, the American public, as an able controversialist. He exhibits himself in the present publication, as no less able in presenting the details of ordinary life, and in giving them an interesting form, and a practical direction. Instruction, and entertainment, are judiciously blended in this volume, so as to make it attractive to the young, for whose benefit it is principally designed. Lovers of the romance of fiction, will find here the romance of real life in the details of historic facts, as they have occurred in the Christian's career; the contemplation of which, instead of dissipating the mind, and filling the memory with nonsense, will contribute to concentrate the view on the folly of scepticism, the lofty principles, and the rich consolations of the religion of the gospel.

From the Religious Telegraph.

*Lights and Shadows of Christian Life*. By Wm. C. Brownlee, New-York. Published by John S. Taylor, 12mo. pp. 388.

This is an interesting volume, replete with instruction for the young on the most important subjects. It contains a series of short and touching narratives, eight in number, drawn from real life, presenting a view of the joys and sorrows, the lights and shadows of Christian life. The first in the series is a portrait of "the General, or the utter imbecility of modern infidelity;" the second, "the Duel Prevented." The others, which pourtray the blessed influences and triumphs of grace, are, "the General's Widow;" "the Afflicted Mother;" "the Elder's Son, or the Spoiled Child;" "Incidents in the Life and Ministry of the venerable Moncrieff of Kilforgie;" the First and Last Communion; and "Hans Van Benschooten." These narratives, which contain instruction for readers of every class, are peculiarly appropriate to the young. Were we to estimate them merely as *narratives* on the scale of merit, as well written sketches, we should give them a decided preference to the numerous works of fiction, which are read for recreation, or to indulge a passion for thrilling adventure. The volume is beautifully printed, and put up in a style which will commend it to the good taste of the reader.

From the Troy Whig.

*Lights and Shadows of Christian Life*, by Wm. C. Brownlee, D. D., from the Press of John S. Taylor, Publisher, and Theological and Sunday School Bookseller, New-York. This volume contains a number of interesting sketches and narratives, drawn, as the author states, from real life. It is intended chiefly for the young, and will be read with pleasure by those who are fond of the serious dressed up in something of the style of an ordi-

nary tale or novel. The author, Dr. Brownlee, is known as a man of talents, and a prominent preacher in the city of New-York. For sale in this city by Robert Wasson, River-street.

From the Norwich Courier.

*Lights and Shadows of Christian Life. Designed for the instruction of the Young.* By Wm. C. Brownlee, D. D. New-York, John S. Taylor—12mo. pp. 388. Norwich, sold by Samuel C. Starr.—Some of these sketches have appeared before in print, and met the approbation of the public, and are now collected together, revised and enlarged, with the hope of doing more extensive good by giving them a wider circulation. The author says, “I profess to write for young people. In the place of those light and immoral works which the Press inflicts on good taste, and religion and morals, I am anxious to attempt the substitution of something which may, perhaps, captivate the attention of the young; and by God’s grace minister some lessons of instruction to the tender mind.” This object appears to be happily accomplished. The tales, eight in number, are interesting in their incidents, well narrated and clothed in an ornate and captivating style: and being, as we believe, all founded on fact, they become the more instructive, as depicting circumstances in which others may be called to act. The book is worthy of the attention of parents and others.

**CHRISTIAN RETIREMENT.** From the eighth London Edition. \$1 25.

From the Religious Telegraph.

*Christian Retirement, or Spiritual Exercises of the Heart.* By the Author of *Christian Experience, as displayed in the Life and Writings of St. Paul.* From the eighth London Edition; New-York, Published by John S. Taylor, 12mo. pp. 476.—This volume contains thoughts and reflections on a great variety of subjects, connected with the intellectual and spiritual growth of the Christian, in pieces of four or five pages in length. “The Two Pillars,” an article copied from it in our columns last Friday, is a fair specimen of the theology and style of the work. In sentiment and spirit it is excellent; its design appears to be such as all good men must approve; and the fact that it has passed through eight editions in London is a strong testimonial, recommending it to the Christian public. Judging the work from a partial reading, we cheerfully concur in such a commendation of it. It is a book for the Christian family and closet. The author would promote the habit of self-examination and prayer, and lead the reader into a closer communion with his own heart and with God. And he endeavours to promote this end, not by the charm and power of novelties—but by giving “line upon line” from the treasures of old theology—such as guided prophets and apostles and martyrs to their heavenly inheritance.

From the Norwich Courier.

*Christian Retirement; or Spiritual Exercises of the Heart—from the eighth London edition.* New-York, John S. Taylor, 12mo. pp. 476. This is one of those admirable volumes, which, disdaining to enter into sectarian controversy, aims to make us better christians by making us better acquainted with the Bible and our own hearts. The object of the writer is thus briefly noticed in the Preface: “The simple design in publishing the following re-

lections is to induce a habit of self-examination and prayer; and to excite to a more diligent perusal of the Word of God." This design is steadily and faithfully kept in view, and the fact that the volume has passed through *eight editions in England* is no mean testimony of its merits. If read with the right disposition of mind, it cannot be perused without some profit. It can be procured at Mr. Starr's Book-store.

From the *Methodist Protestant*.

*Christian Retirement; or Spiritual Exercises of the Heart.* This volume consists of meditations and reflections upon evangelical subjects, and is a valuable companion for the Christian in his devotional retirement; as it is calculated to exalt the mind—elevate the feelings,—excite to self-examination,—engage the soul in devout and holy thought, and increase a sense of the value and importance of divine truth. The perusal of such a volume in the closet is highly advantageous, as it calls off the attention from the cares and tumults of life, and concentrates the thoughts upon God and heavenly things. This book, we think, is admirably adapted for this purpose, on account of the practical nature of the subjects; the experimental manner in which they are presented, and the deep-toned piety which breathes in every page.

**THE SPIRIT OF HOLINESS**—By James Harrington Evans, A. M.—John S. Taylor, New-York.

From the *Brooklyn Advocate*.

The Spirit of Holiness is the spirit and essence of genuine and operating piety. The Christian Pilgrim, if he would be true to the great calling of grace, needs ever to pray for and cultivate in his heart, that spirit of holiness which was so conspicuous in the Divine Master, and forms the great feature of resemblance between God and those whom He has sanctified; and it is to be regretted that in the world, and even among professing Christians, this spirit is so seldom witnessed. Men who belong to the communion of Christ, are often guilty of practices which although not strictly immoral, savor but little of holiness. There are ten thousand acts of unchristianlike conduct, of which no code of laws can take cognizance, but which are adverse to all the sacred feelings of the soul, and directly opposed to the spirit of holiness. Against these the author has taken up his pen; and after advertizing to the creation, nature, and operation of the spirit of holiness, he dwells forcibly and aptly upon the manifold circumstances and passions which war against its existence. Mr. Evans, the author, is evidently a man of talent and good sense, and treats his subject in a proper and skilful manner. This being the first American edition, it has prefixed to it an introductory preface by the Rev. Mr. Winslow, of the second Baptist Church of this city. The book is printed in the excellent style, usually observable in Mr. Taylor's publications.

**THOUGHTS ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND EARLY PIETY.** By Rev. Wm. S. Plumer. 31 cents.

From the *Morning Star*.

*Thoughts on Religious Education and Early Piety*, by Rev. William S. Plumer, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Richmond; New-

York, John S. Taylor, Publisher, Brick Church Chapel, corner of Park Row and Nassau-street, opposite the City Hall.

This is the title of a small, though neat and highly interesting work of 113 pages, recently given to the public. It is a work on a most important subject, written in a clear, chaste and classical style, abounding with beauties of an elevated order, with arguments of no ordinary force, and with instruction and counsel, that render it a compendium of wisdom of opinion, associated with purity of thought and sentiment, evidently proceeding from and calculated to inculcate piety of principle and holiness of heart and life. It is one of the best and ablest advisory assistants, in the important duty of rightly and religiously educating children, that has ever been presented before our eyes. All of it is interesting, much pathetically and sublimely eloquent. Its sterling merits entitle it to a general perusal, and the precepts and examples it presents, claim for it universal acceptance and adoption, in educating the rising generation.

From the Christian Intelligencer.

*Thoughts on Religious Education and Early Piety*, by Rev. William S. Plumer, Pastor of the first Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Virginia. New-York, John S. Taylor, 113 pp. 18mo. This neat little volume is on a subject of the first importance, and although it has frequently been treated, yet it well demands "line upon line, and precept upon precept." The name of the author will attract attention to it. The striking and pungent manner which characterizes him, and his aptness at illustration will be found in the little work. It is divided into eight sections or chapters, and will prove instructive and interesting both to parents and children. It may be ranked among the little volumes which deserve to be found in the family, and to be put into the hands of children either as presents, or from the Sunday School Library.

From the Methodist Protestant.

*Thoughts on Religious Education and Early Piety*, by Rev. W. S. Plumer. The object of this little volume is one of the greatest importance; and those who take a proper view of it, will be glad to receive any judicious suggestions upon the religious education of children. Many will be found in this little production, that are very important to be observed, in improving the mind, and forming the character of the young; so as to bring them in early life, under the dominion of the religion of the Bible. The whole subject is discussed, and presented to the mind, in these "Thoughts," in a very judicious and impressive manner, as might be expected from the character of the author, who is extensively known as an able, and zealous minister of Christ.

From the American Traveller.

*Plumer's Thoughts*.—A very excellent little treatise is that of the Rev. Mr. Plumer, on Religious Education, published in a handsome manner by Mr. J. S. Taylor, New-York. It discusses in plain and convincing language, the importance of early instilling into the minds of the generation that is to succeed us, the first principles of that substantial knowledge which will enable them to direct wisely the chariot of church and state. The chapters are brief and the pages unencumbered with irrelevant matter; the youth or the parent cannot misunderstand the design of the author, and he must be an indifferent reader indeed who would not derive information and encouragement from its perusal.

**From the Religious Telegraph.**

*Thoughts on Religious Education and Early Piety*, by Rev. William S. Plumer, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Richmond, Va. New-York, Published by John S. Taylor, 18mo. p. 113.

Since mentioning this volume two weeks since, we have had the opportunity of examining it. It contains many excellent thoughts on a subject, which, though often discussed, is not generally appreciated. The reader will find in it valuable suggestions on the following topics: Importance of the subject of Education; Education, what it is; Religious Education; Rules for it; Early Piety possible; Motives to Fidelity in Religious Instruction, and Cases of Early Piety. We would commend the work to all parents as an assistant in the most important work (next to their own salvation) which God has assigned them.

**From the Essex North Register.**

*Thoughts on Religious Education and Early Piety*, by Rev. William S. Plumer. N. Y. John S. Taylor, 1836.

The above is the title of a little work very happily written, and destined to do much good, we think, to those who are the Educators of the young. In these days, when there is so much need of family influence to counteract the wildnesses of the times, this book appears very opportunely, and we hope will be read by all young parents. It contains the minute detail upon family discipline and religious instruction, which in the course of their experience, they often find themselves in want of.

**From the Baptist Record.**

*Thoughts on Religious Education and Early Piety*, by Rev. Wlliam S. Plumer, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Richmond, Va. New-York : John S. Taylor, Theological and Sunday School Bookseller, Brick Church Chapel, corner of Park Row and Nassau-street. 18mo. pp. 113.

This excellent little work contains eight sections on the following topics: Importance of the subject of Education; What it is; Religious Education; Early Piety possible; Motives to Fidelity in Religious Instruction; Cases of Early Piety; Conclusion.

This work is written in a spirited manner. It contains many excellent rules for the moral and religious training of children, and these principles of religious education are aptly illustrated by several striking instances of early piety. On these accounts, the work will be useful and interesting to parents and children. We wish it an introduction to families and Sabbath Schools.

**AN EARNEST APPEAL TO CHRISTIANS, ON THE DUTY OF MAKING EFFORTS AND SACRIFICES FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE WORLD.** By Wm. C. Brownlee, D. D. 31 cents.

**From the American Baptist.**

*An Earnest Appeal to Christians on the Duty of Making Efforts and Sacrifices for the Conversion of the World.* By W. C. Brownlee, D. D., of the Middle and North Dutch Churches, N. Y. New-York : John S. Taylor, Brick Church Chapel, corner of Park Row and Nassau-street. 18mo. pp. 157.

This work is in three parts. The first presents a view of the work to be

accomplished, viz : *The Conversion of the World*, as predestined, predicted, and certain to be effected by the influence of the Holy Spirit. The second treats of the *means* by which this work is to be accomplished, in twelve chapters, in which are considered—the *spirit* which should influence us, prayerful, zealous, and active ; *facts* relating to the condition of the heathen, the worth of their souls, instances of missionary success, facilities afforded by Sunday schools, Bible classes, infant schools, &c. ; *female influence*, and the contrast of the condition of woman in Christian and heathen countries ; the *Bible*, the grand Instrument, with tracts in foreign tongues ; the spirit and manner of *Moravian missionaries* to be copied; *evangelical revivals* to be cherished, and religious young men educated ; need of *wisdom*, as well as zeal and funds ; popular ignorance and a perverted public opinion must be cured by the labors of discreet agents ; *difficulties* in the way, from rich men and poor men, and sometimes in the church ; the *command* of God to publish the gospel to all men universally obligatory, we must send or be sent ; and property is entrusted to us for this purpose, and not to lavish on ourselves or children ; the necessary *sacrifices* are not really *great* ; all might be saved from intemperance and other needless expenses ; the *expansive power* of benevolence will open new and rich resources, and there is a dire curse on the possession of wealth unsanctified by benevolence ; the importance of *immediate action*, and the loss and folly of postponing charitable efforts.

The third part urges the *motives* which influence all to enter on this great and good work, drawn from the deplorable condition of pagans, from the compassion of Christ, and the retributions of eternity.

Such is an analysis of this work. It is written in the author's manner, rather pungent and impressive than accurate and elaborate. And though dedicated to the Reformed Dutch Church, and intended to awaken a missionary spirit among a people who have but recently engaged spiritedly in the good work of foreign missions, its general circulation would diffuse some valuable information among many, and awaken zeal in all the friends of this evangelical enterprise.

From the Morning Star.

*An Earnest Appeal to Christians, on the duty of making Efforts and Sacrifices for the Conversion of the World*, by W. C. Brownlee, D. D., of the Middle and North Dutch Churches, N. Y., published by John S. Taylor, Brick Church Chapel, corner of Park Row and Nassau street, New-York.

This is the title of an interesting little work of 157 pages addressed to Christians of all denominations, urging them to unite their prayers, their exertions, and their wealth for the dissemination of the truths of the Gospel, by means of teaching and preaching, and the circulation of the Sacred Scriptures throughout the whole world, for its conversion. The writer enters on his task with his accustomed zeal and ability, exhibits in a comprehensive view the magnitude and immense importance of the undertaking, states and proves that it is to and will be accomplished, and through the instrumentality of means ; shows the duty of Christians, in this matter, and presents them with the most powerful motives for undertaking, carrying on and consummating the work. This volume will be read with interest by all who sincerely desire the spread of the gospel, and the conversion of the world, now “ lying in wickedness,” to the religion of the “ Prince of Peace,” and the glorious hope of a happy immortality.

## THOUGHTS ON EVANGELIZING THE WORLD. By Rev. S. H. Skinner, D. D. 37 cents.

From the Weekly Messenger.

*Thoughts on Evangelizing the World*, by Thomas H. Skinner, pp. 98, published by John S. Taylor, Park Row. The great subject of this discourse, is one which should occupy the attention of every Christian. The scriptures speak with confidence on the universal spread of the Gospel, and, from a consideration of its various promises and predictions, we are led to expect the overthrow of the Satanic empire, in the complete subjugation of the world to the authority of Christ. Success in this respect depends greatly upon the character and conduct of professing Christians; spiritual prosperity among the people of God;—faithfulness in the performance of every duty, is almost necessarily attended by an outpouring of the Spirit of God, and the conversion of sinners: but in the absence of this, when the professors of religion are cold and indifferent, we seldom hear of reformation among ungodly men. It is quite evident that God will bless the world through the church; the light of truth will shine through her, and chase away the gloom and darkness of benighted humanity. The Psalmist says, "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined." So it has been and so it will be. The text chosen by Dr. Skinner, at the opening of the Mercer street Presbyterian Church, is exactly to the same point; the church must be enlightened and revived in order to the diffusion of saving knowledge. "God be merciful unto us and bless us, and cause His face to shine upon us: Selah! That thy way may be known upon earth; thy saving health among all nations." The sublime sentiments, so beautifully expressed in this admirable discourse, should be in the hands of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ. The chief point insisted on is Christian unity, and who does not know that without it little good can be done? The world will not believe in the divine mission and saving character of Christ, unless Christians, professedly so, are one in Christ, and one among themselves. Sectarian notions and movements are an insuperable barrier to the spread of truth. This is shown most clearly in the discourse before us, and our author aims at their overthrow in the following plan of the discourse, which is well sustained and carried out.

"Taking, then, for granted that to evangelize the world is the great object of pursuit to all Christians, I advance and shall endeavour to maintain the following, as PRINCIPLES by which their efforts in prosecuting this object should be regulated—namely :

That they should seek to propagate substantial Christianity, rather than any sectarian form of it.

That they should lay their plans of evangelism, so as to admit the coalition of all Christians.

That they should so conduct their proceedings as to evade as far as possible opposition from the world :

That nevertheless the utmost zeal and resolution are indispensable to carrying the work forward; But, after all,

That they should depend for success, not on their own exertions, however unexceptionable; but on the co-operation of the Divine Power."

We advise Christians of every denomination to purchase, and in the spirit of prayer, read, this most excellent discourse. We think it is adapted to maintain unity and peace among all sincere lovers of practical Christianity.

The book is beautifully printed on good paper, and the binding is superb. In the centre of the cover, is impressed in splendid gold letters, the all-comprehensive prayer "THY KINGDOM COME."

**POPERY AN ENEMY TO LIBERTY.** By Wm. C. Brownlee, D. D. 31 cents.

**PLEASURE AND PROFIT, Vol. 1, or THE MUSEUM.** By Uncle Arthur. 37½ cents.

**PLEASURE AND PROFIT, Vol. 2, or THE BOY'S FRIEND.** By Uncle Arthur. 37½ cents.

**PLEASURE AND PROFIT, Vol. 3, or MARY AND FLORENCE.** By Uncle Arthur. 37½ cents.

**MISSIONARY REMAINS, or SKETCHES OF EVARTS, CORNELIUS, AND WISNER.** By Gardiner Spring, D. D., and others. 37½ cents.

**THE CHRISTIAN'S POCKET COMPANION.** Selected from the works of JOHN ROGERS, DR. OWEN, DAVID BRAINERD, PRESIDENT EDWARDS, and others, with an Introduction by REV. JOHN BLATCHFORD, of Bridgeport, Conn. 25 cents.

From the New-York Observer.

*Christian's Pocket Companion.* This very small but neat manual, just published, is a compilation of some of the purest sentiments and holiest aspirations of such men as Owen, Rogers, Brainerd, and President Edwards. We venture to say that no Christian can make it the familiar companion of his heart, as well as "pocket," without becoming evidently a holier and a happier man.

**THE CAUSE AND CURE OF INFIDELITY.** By the Rev. David Nelson, of Quincy, Illinois; late of Marion County, Missouri. New-York. John S. Taylor, 1837.

From the Journal of Commerce.

A book with the above title page, has just been published by Mr. John S. Taylor. When it was announced as being in the press, the thought was suggested, whether there was not already an abundance of treatises on the subject of infidelity; and whether the feebleness of argument, which characterize some, and the cold, abstruse speculation which chills and mystifies others, were not adapted rather to beget scepticism than to remove it. But a perusal of this book has convinced us, that at least one treatise was wanting, which in simplicity, cogency, directness, and clear illustration, should be answerable to the practice and business-like habits of the present generation. Dr. Nelson's work has all these characteristics, and is therefore pre-eminently suited to make a deep impression upon the community.

Our author was once himself a sceptic, thoroughly versed in all sceptical writings, from the impious witticisms of Voltaire, down to the miserable slang of Tom Paine. His acquaintance with men, in all parts of our country, is uncommonly extensive; and he has met practical infidelity as a friend and a foe, in almost every variety of form. He comes before the public, therefore, as a physician intimately acquainted with the disease which he professes to cure. None can read the book and not feel that the writer is perfectly master of his subject. For strength of argument, point, simplicity, and felicitous illustration, drawn from a storehouse of facts, the book is equal to any we ever read. It is a *common sense* book, which we hope will find its way into every family in our land. Sincerely do we hope it will be read by all who are infected with the disease of infidelity, and work, with the blessing of God, a speedy cure. The external execution of the book is good, it being printed on excellent paper and handsomely bound.

From the Commercial Advertiser.

*The Cause and Cure of Infidelity, with an account of the author's conversion.* By the Rev. David Nelson. New-York. John S. Taylor, 1837.

This is no common-place, or ordinary book: but is an original, experimental and practical work, adapted to the existing aspects of scepticism in our country, and cannot fail to be useful to all who read it. The author, now an aged and venerable minister of the gospel, was long an infidel, a disciple of rationalism, a confirmed sceptic. He writes, therefore, from experience of infidelity, its causes and its cure; and as the spirit and style of the volume are mild and conciliatory, while at the same time he deplores error and vindicates truth with sufficient point and force, we see not how sceptics, who are honest, can excuse themselves from reading this book of reasons for renouncing scepticism and vain philosophy, by one who now labors to build up that which he once sought to destroy. We commend this book of reasons for believing in the Bible, written by an Infidel, to all "free inquirers" who are honest, and such will, at least, be convinced that the author is sincere; and more, that the extraordinary revolution of his opinions, which he here records, was yielded with a sufficiency of resistance, and not until every weapon of rationalism had been wielded and vanquished by the majesty of truth. The distribution of this volume among sceptics of every class, would do more to convert them from the error of their ways than can be hoped for from public or private disputations, or even from those strictly controversial works which are ever issuing from the press. The author and publisher have performed a real service to the community by this timely publication.

SERMONS. By Rev. Charles G. Finney. With a Portrait.

\$1 00.

The sermons are twelve in number, on the following subjects:

1. Sinners bound to change their own hearts.
2. How to change your heart.
3. Traditions of the elders.
- 4, 5. Total depravity.
6. Why sinners hate God.
7. God cannot please sinners.
8. Christian Affinity.
9. Stewardship.

10. Doctrine of Election.
11. Reprobation.
12. Love of the World.

It will be seen, from a glance at the subjects, that this volume contains Mr. Finney's mode of elucidating several highly important points of doctrine and duty, and will be read with interest and profit every where. pp. 277. 8vo. Price \$1.

From the Morning Star.

*Sermons on Important Subjects*, by Rev. C. G. Finney. Third edition, pp. 277, large octavo.

This volume comprises twelve sermons, on highly important practical subjects, which ought to address themselves to the serious consideration of every man, woman, and child of Adam. These sermons were, we believe, principally delivered in the Chatham-street Chapel, and set forth, in a clear, forcible and convincing manner, the reverend author's views of the Gospel-truths of which he treats. The style is plain and sententious, though wrought with much originality, and characterized by the boldness, energy, and persuasiveness of its author.

The reasoning is sound, and the deductions logical and clear. Man is here depicted *as he is*, in all the attributes of his character, and he is shown more of himself than in most instances he ever knew before. The doctrines we consider as altogether purely evangelical, entirely compatible with those of divine revelation, and susceptible of demonstration by reference to its sacred pages. This author has been much abused by those who either did not fully understand the import and tendency of his language and doctrines, or by those who perhaps had formed preconceptions of a character in hostility to the opinions and doctrines he advanced; or by others again who did not wish to believe the important truths he uttered, lest they should be reproved. We have not only heard but read his sermons, and however much we charitably differ from others, consider these sermons as valuable auxiliaries in the schools of Christian instruction. Their approval by the Christian public is evident from the issue of this third edition.

From the Long-Island Star.

*Sermons on Important Subjects*, by the Rev. C. G. Finney—New-York—John S. Taylor. Many of the themes of this volume are upon debateable ground, and we are therefore, by the character of our paper, precluded from speaking affirmatively or negatively about the correctness of the views therein inculcated. There are some, however, of a more general and practical character, which, from the force of argument and the vigor of imagination in which they are clothed, appeal most powerfully to the common mind. However diversified the opinions respecting Mr. Finney's mere *theological* merits, all must unite in awarding him talents of a very high order. This volume well sustains his pretensions as a man of commanding abilities. We would say, *en passant*, that the works issued by John S. Taylor are invariably executed in a very superior style of type, paper, and binding; and in this he deserves the thanks of those readers who have a taste to gratify, or eyes to preserve.

**PREVAILING PRAYER.** By Rev. C. G. Finney. 32mo.  
12½ cents.

**SINNERS BOUND TO CHANGE THEIR OWN HEARTS.**  
A Sermon, by C. G. Finney. For five dollars a hundred, or six cents single.

**HOW TO CHANGE YOUR HEART.** A Sermon, by C. G. Finney. For five dollars a hundred, or six cents single.

**THE WORKS OF REV. DANIEL A. CLARK.** In three volumes. \$3 00.

**ADVICE TO A BROTHER.** By a Missionary. 31 cents.

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